DAILY REPORT

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REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF HUNGARY'S FOREIGN MINISTER

Mladenov Toast at Dinner

AU141630 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 May 82 p 6

[Report on toast proposed by Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, at dinner given for Frigyes Puja, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, in Sofia 12 May]

[Text] While discussing Bulgarian-Hungarian relations and the topical problems of the international situation, we are quite relieved to have traditional good ties between our peoples, close contacts between our communist parties and socialist countries and friendship and cooperation between our countries, all of which has acquired further scope following each meeting between the first leaders Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Janos Kadar, Petur Mladenov said. He emphasized that the results of this cooperation are substantial but that untapped possibilities still exist in this respect; a number of possibilities still exist to expand and deepen this cooperation.

Within the framework of its possibilities, Bulgaria will continue to render the necessary aid for surmounting the crisis and stabilizing the economy of socialist Poland, the Bulgarian foreign minister pointed out.

Touching on the tense and alarming international situation, he emphasized that the ambitions of the United States and NATO to change the balance of powers to their advantage and to achieve military superiority have brought about a new arms race. The plans to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the increase in the military budgets and the resolve of the Reagan administration to produce neutron and chemical weapons -- these and a number of other decisions and actions represent a realistic threat for peace not only in Europe but throughout the world. That is why, Comrade Petur Mladenov said, Bulgaria and Hungary will continue to make efforts together with the other countries of the socialist community to preserve and confirm the spirit of Helsinki -- a spirit of confidence and security, of understanding and cooperation among the countries on our continent.

He emphasized that a realistic and reliable basis for resolving the complicated international problems of disarmament and detente is the Soviet Union's peace program, and Mladenov reaffirmed Bulgaria's wholehearted support for the latest Soviet initiatives set forth by Comrade Brezhnev at the 17th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions.

After expressing confidence that if all countries had a positive desire and participated constructively, the second special session of the UN General Assembly could and must bring concrete steps toward halting the arms race and toward disarmament, he stated that Bulgaria will continue to consistently and steadily contribute to strengthening the good neighborliness in the Balkans and to turning this region into a nuclear-free zone.

Comrade Mladenov expressed the deep conviction that the visit of his colleague Frigyes Puja will contribute to the strengthening of the Bulgarian-Hungarian mutually beneficial cooperation and to stabilizing the unity and cohesion of the socialist community in the name of peace, happiness and progress. He proposed a toast to the upsurge of Hungary, to the good health of Comrade Janos Kadar and to fraternal Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship.

Zhivkov Receives Puja

AU141609 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Sofia, 14 May (BTA) -- Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received here today the visiting minister of foreign affairs of Hungary, Mr Frigyes Puja.

Mr Frigyes Puja conveyed to Mr Todor Zhivkov greetings from Mr Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. At the ensuing talks the development of relations between the two parties and the two countries was highly assessed. Highly assessed was, too, Bulgaro-Hungarian cooperation in the sphere of politics, economy and culture.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Frigyes Puja considered certain problems concerning the further joint efforts for strengtheing the socialist community in the common struggle to preserve peace and security in Europe and the world.

MTI Report on Communique

LD141856 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 14 May 82

["Communique" -- MTI headline]

[Text] Sofia, 14 May (MTI) -- Frigyes Puja, foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, paid an official friendship visit to Bulgaria on May 12-14, 1982 at the invitation of Petur Mladenov, member of the political committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Frigyes Puja was received by Todor Zhivkov, secretary-general of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Grisha Filipov, member of the political committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The meetings took place in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

The foreign ministers noted with satisfaction the many-sided cooperation of the two countries and peoples and socialist internationalism [word indistinct] spirit of the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty of the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. They observed a major progress in the field of economic and technical-scientific cooperation which has been enriched by new, effective forms of partnership. At the same time, they pointed to the plenty of untapped potentials which need joint efforts to harness.

The sides discussed topical world affairs too. They [word indistinct] attached great importance to the continued intensification of the bi-and multilateral relations of the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria within the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. They expressed the strong determination to promote the unity and fraternal cooperation of the socialist community.

The sides gave voice to the readiness of their countries and peoples to continue to give every necessary assistance to the Polish People's Republic in their efforts to resolve the crisis and restore the national economy.

The foreign ministers were anxious to establish that the policy of the extremist circles of U.S. imperialism tends to strain the international situation, and stressed that some NATO countries are interfering with the home affairs of other countries. The discriminative policy and restrictive economic measures adopted by extremist imperialist circles cause grave damage to peaceful co-existence and imperil the process of detente.

The sides confirmed their intention to stand up against the arms race and do everything in their power to avert the nuclear war danger, for the limitation and annihilation of nuclear and other kinds of mass destructive devices. They said the NATO decision on the West European deployment of medium-range U.S. nuclear missiles was incompatible with the interests of the European peoples. The hope was expressed that the Soviet-American talks in Geneva would finally bring an agreement based on the principles of equality and equal security.

The two countries declare full support to the consistent and principled peace policy of the Soviet Union and its latest proposals aimed at preserving the results of detente and forwarding the cause of peace and international cooperation.

The sides expressed the readiness to cooperate also with responsible factors mindful of reality in capitalist countries for the sake of detente. They said they would continue to back the just and heroic struggle of the peoples for national independence, freedom and social progress.

The two sides voiced the intention to promote a successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting of countries having signed the Helsinki Final Act and said they were hopeful about the earliest possible organization of an European conference on military detente and disarmament.

They stressed the two countries' interests in the success of the Vienna troops reduction talks and every other international forum serving arms reduction and disarmament.

The talks of the foreign ministers took place in a spirit of fraternal friendship and understanding and reflected a full identity of views on all the issues discussed.

Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja invited Petur Mladenov, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for a friendship visit to Hungary. Petur Mladenov was pleased to accept the invitation.

Final Talks

AU141045 Sofia BTA in English 0828 GMT 14 May 82

[Report on final talks between Petur Mladenov and Frigyes Puja, held on 13 May 1982 in Sofia]

[Text] Sofia, 14 May (BTA) -- The ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Hungary, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Frigyes Puja, finished their official talks yesterday.

In the last, third, round of their talks they discussed the international situation. The foreign political activities of Bulgaria and Hungary were analyzed. Views were exchanged on the hotbeds of tension in the world.

Confirmed was the complete identity of positions on all matters discussed.

The two ministers underlined with concern that at the fault of the imperialist forces and, above all, the American administration and NATO, the situation in the world is complex and alarming.

In their efforts to achieve military superiority and to impose their policy from the position of force these forces continue to pursue the course of arms race, to raise the temperature of international tension and to push mankind to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. The imperialist circles are trying to mask their aggressive moves with irrealistic statements and infeasible proposals. Their aim is to mislead the public opinion, to divert the attention of the peoples from the real problems and to justify their own militarist policy.

A proof of this hypocritical policy are the military programmes in action, the intolerable interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the rude anti-Soviet campaign and the 'differentiated' approach to the socialist countries, the pressure exerted by Washington on its Western allies and the developing countries.

To this dangerous foreign political course the socialist community countries oppose their principled and consistent foreign policy in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Frigyes Puja expressed the firm determination of their countries to continue to assist the consolidation of unity of the socialist community within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

They reaffirmed the readiness of Bulgaria and Hungary to continue to render the necessary help to Poland in her efforts to normalize her political situation and to restore her national economy.

The two ministers stated again that the Soviet peace programme is a real and solid basis for the solving of the complex international problems and that Bulgaria and Hungary will make every effort for the realization of this programme.

It was stressed that Bulgaria and Hungary support the intensifying movement of the peoples of the world against the arms race and in defence of peace and international security.

On behalf of their governments, Minister Mladenov and Minister Puja expressed confidence that the Soviet-American talks in Geneva will lead to an agreement in compliance with the principles of equality and equal security.

They also spoke in support of the successful end of the Madrid meeting, the Vienna talks and all other international forums for limitation of arms and for disarmament.

Puja Statement Before Departure

AU141931 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Sofia, 14 May (BTA) -- Today Mr Frigyes Puja, Hungary's foreign minister, left Bulgaria after his three day official and friendly visit to this country.

Immediately before his departure he stressed Bulgaria and Hungary's wide-scale cooperation in the political, economic and cultural sphere.

Mr Puja said that the future development of Bulgaro-Hungarian relations will be directed towards these spheres by attaching special importance to the extending of the economic relations. "This is the striving of the two countries" central committees and governments," he added.

Mr Frigyes Puja said that bilateral trade is intended to amount to 1 millard 450 million rubles this five-year period. "We are glad that specialization and joint production play a great part in our cooperation. The output of the joint production makes 30 percent of the trade," he said.

The Hungarian foreign minister stressed that in the present situation to halt the nuclear arms race and, if possible, to reduce the nuclear weapons, are one of the questions of greatest importance.

He said that the Hungarian party and state leadership give high assessment to Mr Todor Zhivokv's proposal for covening a summit for discussing the question related to converting the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

"We back up Mr Leonid Brezhnev's proposal for whole Europe to be turned into a nuclear-free zone."

Puja Departs Country

AU141518 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs of Hungary, has left Bulgaria. He was seen off at the airport by his colleague Petur Mladenov, deputy ministers and high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

DAILY STATES BRITAIN IN BREACH OF CSCE FINAL ACT

AU141430 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 May 82 p 2

["BC"-signed commentary: "The Malvinas and Europe"]

[Text] The Malvinas Islands are thousands of kilometers away from Europe, they are on the other side of the globe, on the other side of the Equator. Great Britain, however, has brought them closer to Europe than desirable. The war adventure with Argentina has riveted the whole world's attention on the almost uninhabitated archipelago. And there are very special reasons for the interest in this.

For Great Britain's war action against Argentina is a quite clear violation of the CSCE principles. In the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference the signatories pledged that they would "refrain from threatening force or using force." This provision also was signed by Great Britain. What else is the bombing of airfields and the sinking of an Argentinian cruiser and a fishing boat but a gross violation of this principle? Also the constant preparations for further military actions, including the planned invasion of the Malvinas Islands, are nothing but the "threat of force." And ministers of the London government do not even conceal that the threats are intended to "improve" British positions for the negotiations for a settlement.

By its military actions in the vicinity of the Malvinas Islands Britain violates not only its Final Act pledge that it will "settle conflicts by peaceful means," but also the second part of the act -- "not to jeopardize international peace, security and justice." Warnings that the British-Argentine conflict could grow into an uncontrollable and dangerous international war dispute resound throughout the world, and even Great Britain's NATO "allies" are drawing attention to the fact that an escalation of war actions threatens international peace.

Last, but not least, Great Britain also violates another point of the Final Act, in which the signatories promise to "conscientiously fulfill their obligations in accordance with the international law...as well as obligations arising from treaties."

Thus there are more than enough instances in violation of the CSCE Final Act. True, one could object that the cited principles apply only to relations among the Final Act's signatory states and that Argentina is not a signatory. That, however, is not an argument for violating agreed and signed principles, because peace and security are indivisible in today's world. Also because -- with the current state of military technology -- a local conflict could easily grow into a world conflagration.

It is surprising that Great Britain's EEC and NATO allies have not yet drawn the London government's attention to its overt violation of the principles of the Final Act. For at other times they are full of the Helsinki conference. On the contrary, the "allies" -- and especially the United States -- are supporting Britain's aggressive policy vis-a-vis Argentina, and understandably cannot criticize it for violating the CSCE principles.

All this raises the justified question as to what value the signature of the British Government's representative under the Helsinki Final Act has. By its deeds the British Government proves that it has none, which after all can also be seen not only from the conflict over the Malvinas Islands, but also from the British North Ireland policy over many years.

USSR'S MARCHUK RETURNS HOME, AGREEMENT SIGNED

LD151440 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Guriy Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, ended his official visit to Czechoslovakia today and flew back to Moscow.

He discussed with the highest Czechoslovak party and state officials the tasks of the economic development of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, current questions of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic and scientific and technical cooperation, questions of stepping up production cooperation, collaboration in the sphere of science and technology, eliciting interest in technical development, and the gradual automation and robotization of production processes.

During the course of the visit, which took place at the invitation of Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, Guriy Marchuk signed a program of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the planning, organization, economic implementation and management of scientific and technical development for 1982-96.

STROUGAL, CHNOUPEK CONGRATULATE SFRY OFFICIALS

LD161827 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal has sent a congratulatory telegram to Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY, on her being nominated to the post.

Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek congratulated Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY, on his being nominated to the post.

BILAK VISITS MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA; HOLDS TALKS

Report on Mozambique Visit

LD141538 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee delegation, led by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, flew from Mozambique to Zambia today.

The press report issued at the conclusion of the Czechoslovak delegation's visit to Mozambique says that Vasil Bilak and Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of the Permanent Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front, briefed each other in detail on the situation in their respective countries.

Vasil Bilak underlined the significance of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress for further strengthening and developing the advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia and the development of the world socialist community.

Joaquim Alberto Chissano explained in detail the political and religious-economic processes taking place in Mozambique. The two sides stated with satisfaction that the existing agreements are being fulfilled in both the government-party sphere as well as in the sphere of mass organizations. These documents create an important base for the development and further strengthening of mutual relations between the two parties and states as well as between the mass organizations of both countries.

The two sides rejected the latest proposals of the capitalist countries regarding Namibia, and confirmed complete solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization. They condemned the repressive actions of the Pretoria racist regime directed against the people of South Africa. They also expressed the demand that the aggressive forces of the South African Republic be immediately recalled from Angolan territory. The two sides condemned the aggressive activity of the imperialist circles and the strengthening of the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf and Red Sea. They expressed support for the endeavor to convene an international conference on changing the Indian Ocean into a nuclear-free zone.

Comrades Vasil Bilak and Joa im Alberto Chissano confirmed complete support for all initiatives directed toward the consolidation of peace, social progress and disarmament. They stressed that the use of nuclear arms would be the most serious crime against mankind.

The two sides expressed support for the initiatives to achieve an agreement on the ban on deployment of any weapons in space. They fully condemned the U.S. decision to produce the neutron bomb and to deploy more medium-range missiles in Europe.

In assessing the Middle East situation, the two sides expressed serious concern over the strengthening of the aggressive policy carried out by the [words indistinct] and the Zionist regime of Israel. The two sides also condemned the efforts of imperialism to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and U.S. attempts to change the revolutionary development in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada by use of threats, blackmail and terror. Both sides also condemned efforts to suppress the struggle of the people of El Salvador with violence.

Delegation Leaves Maputo

LD141330 Prague CTK in English 1140 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Maputo, 14 May (CTK) -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, led by Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak, ended today its official visit to Mozambique and left for Zambia.

During its visit, the delegation had talks with member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee Joaquim Alberto Chissano and party Chairman and President Samora Moises Machel.

Talks in Zambia

LD152216 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Talks in Lusaka between a CPCZ Central Committee delegation headed by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and a delegation of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, headed by Humphrey Mulemba, its general secretary have ended. During the talks, both representatives examined questions concerning contacts between the two parties and economic relations between Czechoslovakia and Zambia. During the talks they stressed the broad identity of views on the questions discussed.

The CPCZ Central Committee delegation accompanied by Zambian Prime Minister Nalumino Kundia, visited the house from which the present president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, directed the struggle for the independence of his country. Zambia media have carried extensive reports about the talks conducted by our party delegation, and Zambian television transmitted, as a special program, a movie prepared by Czechoslovak television on President Kaunda's 1980 visit to Czechoslovakia.

Talks End

LD161710 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Lusaka, 16 May (CTK) -- The discussions between delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party led by member of its Presidium and Secretary of its Central Committee Vasil Bilak, and a delegation of the Zambian United National Independence Party (UNIP) led by its General Secretary Humphrey Mulemba ended here Saturday.

The leader of the Zambian delegation informed his guests on the internal and economic policy of his country. The two representatives then discussed some issues concerning relations between the two countries.

In the afternoon the Czechoslovak delegation took part in a rally of Czechoslovak-Zambian friendship which took place in the workers' quarter of Mutendere. At the rally Zambian Prime Minister Nalumino Mundia stressed that Czechoslovakia grants Zambia full support in its struggle for the economic and social rise and for the liberation of all southern Africa. Vasil Bilak underlined that the foreign policy of his country gives full support to the fight for freedom and independence of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. He stressed that Czechoslovakia does its best to preserve peace for all nations and all mankind.

He pointed out that the formation of independent states in Africa after the Second World War was a great historic event and that the fight for the strengthening and deepening of all that was achieved is still continuing.

RFE CITED AS WARNING TO POTENTIAL DEFECTORS

AU141040 BRATISLAVA PRAVDA in Slovak 13 May 82 p 2

[Vojtech Vesely article in column "Notes": "The Road to 'Paradise' Blocked"]

[Text] From now on, hard times are ahead for those Czechoslovak citizens who, when traveling to the FRG, might have "forgotten to return." We are not the ones who assert that — coming from us everybody would regard it as communist propaganda -- but Radio Free Europe does, and it, after all, has firsthand knowledge.

The radio illustrated the essence of the matter in one of its recent programs on the case of a certain pianist from Brno. Last year he traveled with his whole family to Yugoslavia, from where he went on to Austria and finally to the FRG. There he reported to the Bavarian police: "I have come to the West because a pianist earns more here than in Czechoslovakia... (to put it concretely, as it was said in the latter part of the program, he expected a job with a first class orchestra with a monthly salary of DM7,000.) That was a mistake however! In the FRG they are fed up with -- as they call them — "economic" refugees who, according to one officer of the immigration court in Zirndorf, "expect, and sometimes even demand, a standard of living equal to that of our people (!) for whom it took years to get as far as they are." Such people are pouring into that country from all corners of the world and, understandably, they are only a burden. Therefore, the Zirndorf court has decided "to put an end to the benevolent treatment of applications for asylum," and treat them in a differentiated manner: "Political" refugees have priority and the "economic" can wait -- even years. Our pianist, however, found a solution: He went to the police and declared that he was changing his original statement. The real reason for his leaving Czechoslovakia allegedly was his "persecution for political reasons," because he tried to found an anti-state group for which he was in danger of being arrested. He sure had fantasy...but the officers of the Zirndorf court were not halfwits and presented him with an unexpected but a logical question: Very well, Mr Musician, but why despite this did the Czechoslovak authorities let you go, with all of your family, to Yugoslavia? We do not know what he answered, but one thing is certain — as we heard from Radio Free Europe -- he will have to wait "quite a few months yet" for political asylum. And that in a camp, eating food from the camp kitchen, living in one room with his wife and a 12-year old son, getting DM3 pocket money a day... The commentary of the author of the story is most illuminating: "As many had before him, the pianist dreamed about this other world as about a paradise on earth. He thought that all he had to do was to get there and all problems would immediately be resolved. According to the West German screening officers in Zirndorf, the citizens of the so-called socialist states who flee to the FRG suffer from the so-called socialist syndrome. They think that in the FRG the state must take care of them and push them through to the center of a prosperous society.

That is a clear language. Except for one little thing. Why a "socialist" syndrome? After all it is not us but you on Radio Free Europe who for 30 years now have been promising the earth to gullible people to make them leave their socialist country — and you do not want them now? Well, do not wash your dirty linen in our water.

ARTICLES BY FEDERAL ASSEMBLY CHAIRMAN INDRA

On Soviet Peace Role

AU142100 Prague TRIBUNA No 18 in Czech 5 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR Federal Assembly chairman, "written for" Moscow IZVESTIYA: "The Day of Victory -- Both a Lesson and a Hope"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] It has been 37 years since victory day, but the generations that had been its contemporaries still very vividly recall it -- and those who were born later should also not forget it. It was a day which the whole world should venerate for all times. It was then, on 9 May 1945, that weaons became silent in Europe and what has so far been the largest and most terrible war in history ended. Sorrow constrained our hearts over the burned-out cities and the ruins of plants, and the tears of mothers, women and children weeping for more than 50 million dead took a long time to dry. But that day a joyous knowledge prevailed in people's minds: We have peace! Mankind breathed a sigh of relief -- the lethal plague of Nazism had been warded off, the Hitlerite hydra had been conquered in its lair. And the powerful stream of all feelings merged into one single resolve: never again war!

Time passes with unbelievable speed, life brings us new joys and worries every day -- but it will always be useful to think back, again and again, to the reasons of the outbreak, to the course, nature and results of World War II. It is our duty toward the present and future generations; we are stimulated to do so by the entire postwar development, and particularly by the current complicated situation in international relations, but also by the endeavors of certain bourgeois circles to "remodel history" according to their own notions, or else to the order of the modern adepts of hegemony.

Diplomatic documents, which by now have become generally known, are a severe indictment of the statesmen of the capitalist powers of those times; they reveal their hypocrisy, their cynical barter with mankind's destiny. It is they whose rejection of Soviet proposals on ensuring the collective security, whose concessions paved the way toward Hitler's expansionism. No, we cannot explain it by their naivete, and even less can we excuse their course of action by talking of their "endeavor to preserve peace," as Chamberlain used to claim. Their course of action was dictated solely and alone by the large bourgeoisie's class interests, by imperialist aims, and by the militant anti-Sovietism following from this. In fact, Hitler came to power as spokesman of the interests of German large capital, which was linked by thousands of ties -- economically, but also politically -- with similar circles in France and Britain. Indifference toward the fate of republican Spain and the suffering of the Ethiopian people, passive ignoring of the growing Nazi military strength, agreement with Austria's "anschluss" and active participation in Czechoslovakia's liquidiation -- these were the milestones bordering the path toward a world war. Hitlerite Germany was the most aggressive imperialist state. That is why the other Western powers were strengthing it through various concessions, with only one aim in mind: to direct the strike of its military machinery against the USSR. In the eyes of the large bourgeoisie in all countries, the first socialist state was an "ulcer" on the body of the world; its example represented a mortal danger to them, which was to be liquidated at any price. (How conspicuously this reminds us of A. Haig's and R. Reagan's speeches today, which call communism an "error of history"!)

The war started as a pronouncedly imperialist war, for the Polish ruling circles of those times belonged, in class terms, to the same "blood group" as Hitler. It was not the first time that chauvinism served as a war banner; once again it was a question of "lebensraum", once again the division of the spheres of influence between the imperialist powers was on the agenda of the day. That is why France and Britain granted absolutely no assistance to the bleeding Polish army; that is why that "peculiar war" was conducted on Germany's western borders.

But then France suffered an unexpectedly rapid and crushing defeat, then almost all of Europe found itself under the Hitlerite usurper boot, and the Nazi bombs started falling on English towns. That made it obvious that the stage-management had slipped out of the imperialist "peacemakers'" hands, that they, too, were now threatened by mortal danger, and that Hitler's gluttony did not intend to halt before anything.

WITH THE ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION, THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR CHANGED RADICALLY. FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE, IT WAS THE GREAT FATHERLAND WAR; AND THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY NAZISM WERE WAGING A NATIONAL-LIBERATION WAR. The public of most countries in the world, as well as the realistic politicians, grasped that in the interests of saving mankind it was imperative to join forces against the Nazi danger. Naturally this does not apply to all Western politicians. There were also those among them who concealed their anti-Soviet and imperialist cards, biding their time for a suitable moment. They placed their stakes on the USSR and Germany mutually bleeding to death, which would enable them to dictate peace conditions in their own favor....

Of course, the Soviet people's courageous fight radically changed the course of the war, too. Against the Hitlerite machinery, which was served by a large part of the European economy, stood people who were defending their SOCIALIST FATHERLAND in a life-and-death struggle. They battled for the freedom they had come to know, they defended their revolutionary achievements, and from the first to the last hour of war they fulfilled a sacred internationalist mission. The eyes of all the world were turned toward them with admiration; their heroic fight was a brilliant beacon of hope for all mankind. In spite of all the heavy losses in the first months of the great fatherland war, it soon became apparent that the Nazi military staffs had fatefully miscalculated. The Soviet people and their army had put a stick in their wheel. The Hitlerite werewolves had scarcely time to count their broken teeth. The plans for a "blitzkrieg" had failed. After that, under the onslaught of the Red Army which was supported by all the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party, there was nothing else left to the Hitlerite "conquerors of the world" than to retreat from Moscow, Stalingrad and Leningrad up to Berlin....

Nobody is belittling the merits of the Allies -- particularly not of their honest soldiers and realistic politicians -- for the defeat of Nazism. When American soldiers were embracing Red Army members on the Elbe, they were certainly sincerely and deservedly happy about victory; they believed in peace and in the postwar cooperation of the Allies. But was the happiness of all Western politicians of that time as sincere? How many attempts to arrange a "separate peace" some of them plotted! Let us recall how H. Truman speculated with abusing the American monopolistic ownership of the atomic bomb!

In spite of certain falsifiers of history, the entirety of progressive mankind appreciates the Soviet Union's role in World War II and acknowledges its decisive share in the defeat of Nazism. The heroism of the armies of the first socialist state, the skill of its commanders, the immeasurable sacrifices of the Soviet people, their moral-political unity, the admirable valor of women and children, the invaluable organizing role of the CPSU -- all this will be forever inscribed in golden letters in the history of mankind's struggle against lawlessness and for just goals, for the freedom of nations, for social progress and democracy.

THE USSR'S DECISIVE SHARE IN THE ACHIEVED VICTORY BASICALLY INFLUENCED THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY. THIS WAS LOGICAL, SINCE THE MAIN VICTOR WAS THE FIRST SOCIALIST STATE WHICH HAD COMPLETELY DIFFERENT GOALS, BOTH IN THE FEROCIOUS FIGHT AND AFTER ITS VICTORIOUS CONCLUSION, THAN THE IMPERIALIST POWERS HAD. In the eyes of mankind, the country of the Soviets was the chief author of victory, it was the subjugated nations' liberator, it was the country which primarily deserved gratitude for saving human civilization. The attempts of various capitalist jugglers to gain as much as possible from the Nazi defeat for the benefit of imperialism were doomed to failure. At that time it was simply unrealistic to ignore, or frustrate, the Soviet efforts for a just postwar arrangement of the world, for ensuring the peoples' right to self-determination and the freedom to choose their social system, for creating conditions for a lasting peace -- at that time it was out of the question to strictly reject the Soviet ideas on the continuing cooperation of the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

The Yalta and Potsdam agreements were sealed by the basic thoughts of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary doctrine, by the humanism which is the substance of the Soviet social system, by the blood of Soviet people; they were also the cradle of the United Nations and its charter. Let it be clearly said that all and any attempts at casting doubts on, or even revising, these documents cannot but be qualified as an endeavor to change the results of the war. Apart from other things, this would surely mean a change of Poland's western borders, it would also lead to a lopping-off of Czechoslovak territory. This is a gross disparagement of the memory of 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet country who had perished in the Great Fatherland War; it is an expression of perfidy, which must be condemned; and it is simply inadmissible. All in all, it is an endeavor to reverse the historic development, an endeavor which was, is, and always will be without success.

The USSR's decisive share in the defeat of Nazism significantly influenced the development of the world, whose political map had radically changed during the past 37 years. This is proved by the emergence of socialist states in Europe, Asia, America and Africa, by the inextinguishable flame of the national liberation movement, by the disintegration of the world colonial system. Of course, all this stands in sharp conflict with the interests of imperialism, which does not want to (and from its own viewpoint also cannot) become reconciled to the idea that it has ceased to be the decisive factor of historic development, that many nations had freed themselves of its bondage, and that other nations are reluctant to succumb to its influence. That is why imperialism, and particularly its most aggressive circles, has been plotting against peace, the USSR, the socialist countries, the states that had liberated themselves from the colonialist yoke, and the nations still fighting for their freedom, and doing this for the entire period since victory day.

FACTS PROVE -- AND MANKIND'S MEMORY CANNOT BE SWINDLED FOREVER! -- THAT THE AIMS AND BASIC LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY PURSUED BY IMPERIALISM (AND PARTICULARLY BY THE UNITED STATES) ARE NOT CHANGING. It is only the waves of aggressiveness that are sometimes lower, and sometimes very much higher. They remind us of the high and low ocean tide. They are influenced by the extent to which individual political groupings are capable of realistic thinking, by the state of awareness in public opinion, by the development of bourgeois society's economic, financial and moral crisis. The most serious obstacle to their irresponsible gambling game lies in the Soviet Union's economic and military strength, in the Soviet people's moral-political unity, in the joint procedure of the countries of the socialist community, and in the resistance of all peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces of the world.

The current period in international relations is justly called the most dangerous since the end of World War II. The blame for this must be attributed to the Reagan administration, which has succumbed to unrealistic illusions about a "revival of U.S. greatness and glory." Under these terms it is not difficult to discern dreams about America "world rule," while the dreamers give not a thought to the various similar neophytes in history, and to the end they came to. The United States is claiming the right to arbitrarily determine the spheres of its "vital interests," even if they lie thousands of kilometers away from its borders. It would like to prescribe to individual independent states how they "should behave" and the kind of domestic and foreign policy they should pursue. It assesses the extent of human rights according to how the individual regimes behave toward the United States. That is why it finds its best friends in Pinochet, El Salvador junta, the South Korean puppet government, the Turkish military dictatorship, and so forth. It is unwinding the spiral of feverish armament at a crazy pace, it is forcing its NATO allies to negotiations which sharply contradict the latter's state, national and economic interests. The United States is manifesting a quite exceptional interest in Europe. Not that it would like to protect its allies against an alleged "Soviet threat" (which is already being generally called the lie of the century!), but with the aim of condemning Europe to the fate of becoming the residue of an atomic conflagration. At the same time the United States is cherishing the senseless hope that an atomic war could somehow be "limited," that it would not affect its own territory (and that it could perhaps "make some profit" from it, as it had profited from the two preceding wars). The danger of these plans lies exactly in the fact that they are formulated and advocated in a thermonuclear age, in which a war would represent mankind's perdition and the end of our planet.

Of course, Washington's murderous plans represent only one side of the scales in international relations (whether we want it, or not, we must recall here the plans of the Hitlerite general staff!). On the other side of these scales is the USSR's strength, determination and prudence. It also contains the policy of Soviet allies, the movement of non-aligned countries and also the considerable weight of the public opinion of peace-loving mankind and, as the latest developments prove, the opinion of the Americans themselves.

THE PERSEVERING AND PERSISTENT SOVIET PEACE INITIATIVE, CONVEYED PARTICULARLY BY L. BREZHNEV, DOES NOT REMAIN WITHOUT AN ECHO -- IT CANNOT REMAIN WITHOUT IT. WE ARE NOT OVERSIMPLIFYING THE COMPLICATED SITUATION OR UNDERRATING THE DANGER BUILT UP BY THE WASHINGTON "HAWKS." WE KNOW THAT THE MOST AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALIST CIRCLES ARE WILLING TO RISK MANKIND'S DESTINY. BUT WE ARE NOT CEASING TO HOPE IN THE GOOD FUTURE OF THE WORLD; WE ARE NOT SUCCUMBING TO SKEPTICISM, WE ARE DEEPLY CONVINCED OF THE VIABILITY AND IMPERATIVE NEED OF THE POLICY OF DETENTE AND THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. In harmony with the opinions of Reagan's critics in the United States itself, we notice that the American President, too, is changing the tone of his speeches. But obviously he is not sincere in this, since his acts sharply contradict his speeches. It certainly does not mean that his blind anti-Sovietism and anticommunism is somehow weakening. But he has been forced to talk like this under pressure of world public opinion, of the opinions of certain Western allies, of the approaching elections to the U.S. Congress, and certainly also by the complications in the U.S. domestic politics and the U.S. economic and social situation. Simply, even a U.S. president cannot aford to permanently ignore the current correlation of forces and the state of the world and of his own country. The persistence of all progressive and peace-loving forces in supporting the consistent USSR peace policy corroborates our conviction that peace must win, because it is the only possible alternative for mankind's survival.

Victory Day is also the day of Czechoslovakia's liberation. On our territory the Nazis continued to murder even after the Berlin capitualtion so that for us the war ended with the liberation of insurgent Prague by the Red Army. During the many difficult years of our national liberation fight, in Nazi prisons and concentration camps, in Czechoslovak military units abroad -- particularly in the unit set up in the USSR under Gen L. Svoboda, in partisan formations and in the Prague barricades -- the Soviet Union was always our ally. It represented for us the certainty that we would win; we always lived with the hope that freedom would be brought to us by soldiers with a red star on their caps. We were not disappointed; and the Czechoslovak people will be grateful for centuries to come to the great Soviet country and its valiant sons.

After 37 years we can say that we have handled our national freedom and state independence, which the Soviet assistance had enabled us to renew, very well. Our workers class and all our working people have turned the historical experience to use and, under the leadership of the CPCZ, steeled in battles, they decided in favor of socialism. The large bourgeoisie, which was incapable of resolving any basic economic, social or nationality problems in the period between the two wars and in the end shamefully capitulated before the Munich diktat, had lost the people's confidence. They did not entrust it any more with economic and political power, and the era of its rule in Czechoslovakia was at an end. The growth of industrial production, the successes of the socialist large-scale agricultural production, the upgrading of culture and educational standards, the generous social achievements and the high living standards, all convincingly achieved, prove that the Czechoslovak people are good and thrifty masters of their country.

In spite of all slander and enemy attacks, we did not adopt any so-called "Soviet model." We were never forced to submit to "Moscow's diktat." The socialist revolution and the building of a new society in Czechoslovakia are virtually a textbook example of the diverse possibilities for building socialism, of a clever utilization of all national economic and cultural idiosyncrasies. But the Czechoslovak experience also affirms the knowledge that the success of the socialist revolution also depends on respect for its generally vallid principles.

We proudly profess our allegiance to the fact that for this entire period we have been learning from the CPSU's experience -- the experience of this eldest detachment of the communist movement -- and that we have been making use of the knowledge acquired by the first socialist states of the world tested by life. Our path toward socialism was made emphatically easier for us by the all-round assistance that was selflessly granted us by the Soviet Union, and later also by the cooperation of the countries of the socialist community.

THE MILITARY ALLIANCE AND THE RICHLY RAMIFIED COOPERATION IN ALL SPHERES REPRESENT FOR THE CSSR THE CERTAINTY OF PRESENT AND FUTURE YEARS; THEY ARE THE GUARANTEE OF OUR STATE INDEPENDENCE, THEY ENABLE US TO LIVE AND WORK IN PEACE -- THEY THUS EXPRESS THE NOBLEST LONGINGS OF OUR PEOPLE AND ARE IN THEIR MOST VITAL INTERESTS. That is why nobody should question the fact that Czechoslovakia is the Soviet Union's loyal ally, that we proceed hand in hand also in international politics, that we support at all times and in all places the heroic Soviet effort to preserve peace. We are strengthened by the conviction that, in a class-divided world, our fatherland is standing on the correct side of the barricade, on the side of social progress, democracy and peace.

The road toward the defeat of Nazism was long and full of rigours. And we must thank the Soviet Union's decisive share in the victory of the progressive world for the fact that Europe has been living in peace for all of 37 years, that the most aggressive imperialist circles have not succeeded in unleashing a new world war. History teaches us that politics cannot do without compromises; but it also reminds us, and as insistently, that principles exist which must on no account be relinquished. The foremost place among them is held by the principle never to give way to an aggressor's plans and acts. Peace is mankind's most valuable commodity, the right to live in peace is the primary human right. In the name of preserving its existence, mankind must do everything to make it unncessary for us ever again to erect monuments to war victims. There exists a sufficient number of other and more useful methods for proving human heroism....

WE UNDERSTAND VICTORY DAY AS A HISTORIC WATERSHED. IT IS A WARNING TO EVERYBODY PLAYING AROUND WITH THE CRAZY IDEA OF A NEW WORLD WAR, A NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES. Quite a few people in the West would benefit from a daily reminder about British Marshal Montgomery's words: "On the first page of the book on war it is written: Never march against Moscow: Many people have tried to do this -- Napoleon, Hitler..."

The celebrations of Victory Day are an encouragement for all peace-loving and progressive forces in their difficult, sacred struggle. They fill all mankind with the hope that the rainbow of peace, which flared up on 9 May 1945, will never again be extinguished; that peace will be successfully defended; that we will save our planet from thermonuclear ruin; and that we will preserve it for the present and all future generations.

On Everyday Opportunism

AU131130 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 May 82 p 3

[Article by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR Federal Assembly chairman: "Opportunism, the Inveterate Enemy"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpt] If you call a person an opportunist, he will certainly be offended. But actually many facts show us that in our country opportunism in practice is not an exceptional phenomenon. I do not want to exaggerate; but we are virtually stumbling over it at every step; it was, and is, causing us many difficulties, with which we have to cope in building our society. With a bit of care we need not resort to general and barren moralizing here, for it takes no special effort to find specific examples to prove this.

Or is it perhaps not opportunism, if a leading employee in this or that level accepts the set tasks (sometimes knowing that they cannot be fulfilled, but keeping quiet about this), then fails to make every effort to fulfill them, and does not even go red in the face for shame? Does this term not also include conscious law violations, for personal gain or "in the interests of the enterprise"? False data about plan fulfillment; bills and payments for unaccomplished work; frauds going into millions, which are "covered up" by the stamps of socialist organizations; unbelievably "generous business activities" promoted by considerable quantities of alcoholic beverages, and so forth — these are no fabricated accusations, but specific examples of cases that are keeping those employed in criminal activity busy. When reading this kind of information, one is compelled to ask: What about party and trade union organizations?

It is high time to delve more deeply into the mycelium on which opportunism in practice flourishes. Why does it stubbornly contine to exist and to thrive like the weeds, although we are now mostly confronted by a generation born, or that has grown up, in a socialist society? Without limiting ourselves to "object fetishism," to cars, weekend cottages, tuzex goods [bought for foreign currency] and so forth, as is frequently simplified in explanation, we will scarcely err in saying that the roots of this evil lie in petty bourgeois attitudes. We have here a petty bourgeois way of thinking and acting, which leads to indolence and the effort to avoid conflicts. In fact, the party as society's leading political force is always particularly threatened by this sort of people in its ranks who seek opportunities to push through their egoistic goals. To make the point clear: A petty bourgeois person can never have revolutionary awareness. He may simulate activity, join in energetic discussions at meetings, show excellent results in party education classes; but he will never think and act in a revolutionary manner. If he is entrusted with specific tasks in resolving businesslike problems, if one watches whether he always, in all circumstances, explains and defends the party's policy, if one demands that he "sacrifice" some of his own "good fortune" — all masquerade stops, and all conscientiousness evaporates. In times of success he is with us, presenting himself as a "hurray-revolutionary" willing to "burn heretics at the stake"; but obstacles always scare him. He panics. Every time he "knew and foresaw this." He throws in the sponge. THAT IS ALSO WHY THE TIME TO PASS THE TEST OF CONSCIENTIOUSNESS AND CHARACTER IS NOW, TODAY, WHEN WE HAVE TO STRUGGLE, FOR INSTANCE, AGAINST DIFFICULTIES IN OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY, WHEN CLOUDS ARE GATHERING OVER INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, WHEN THE PARTY'S UNITY AND ACTION ABILITY, AS WELL AS ITS CLOSE TIES WITH THE PEOPLE, ARE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT. NOW IN PARTICULAR WE MUST BE MORE RESOLUTE IN SUPPRESSING OPPORTUNISM IN PRACTICE, THUS WINNING OVER THE PEOPLE WHO ARE HONORABLE AND DEVOTED TO OUR CAUSE AND SIMULTANEOUSLY REARING REVOLUTIONARY CADRES. WE CANNOT SEEK A SOLUTION TO CURRENT PROBLEMS OUTSIDE SOCIALISM, OUTSIDE THE CLASS FIGHT, OUTSIDE SOCIAL PROGRESS.

It is logical to demand that LEADING EMPLOYEES ON ALL LEVELS AND IN ALL SECTORS head the struggle against opportunism -- that is, head the efforts to fulfill the 16th congress resolutions. Everybody knows that we have a sufficient number of executives capable of passing the test even under the strictiest criteria. But, deplorably, we also have many executives who are remiss in their duties. These include so-called truth-spouting braggarts. They talk and talk without getting tired, they tell no lies and their words are in keeping with the party's policy -- but the "flaw" is that we see no deeds from them. As a rule they lack the necessary organizational talent; they are firmly convinced that they are discharging their duties by making lengthy and "ardent" speeches. We must inevitably enter on their side of the ledger great damage, material damage and also, and especially, political damage. Their "educational" influence is literally negative, since they serve as models for people to form their ideas of the party's policy.

NOTHING CAN HARM SOCIALISM MORE THAN A CONFLICT BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS, BETWEEN THE PROCLAIMED POLICY AND THE PEOPLE'S EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE. THE ISSUE HERE IS THE WORKING PEOPLE'S TRUST, TRUST THAT IS OF THE HIGHEST VALUE FOR COMMUNISTS.

We may also encounter executives who turn the principle of collective leadership into a "protective dam." They apply this management method even in those instances when their authority and responsibility are inseparable and when consultations are merely intended to enable them to make the correct PERSONAL decision. In this way these people sometimes conceal their professional inefficiency, or else their lack of the sense of responsibility and the fear of taking unnecessary risks in controversial situations, of "sticking their neck out." They set off a merry-go-round of paper work, they are incapable of coping with local or departmental approaches and of assessing problems from the viewpoint of all-social interests, they waste their own time and energy and that of their colleagues and partners at lengthy conferences which resolve nothing, and they have a masterly way of unbelievably tangling up even the simplest matters. They like tossing responsibility from one level to another like a "ping-pong ball," and they would prefer a minister to resolve matters that properly belong under the jurisdiction of a gatekeeper.

However, it is true -- and useless to conceal -- that a DEMANDING EXECUTIVE HAS NO EASY LIFE. The reasons are many: An erroneous understanding of socialist democracy, or one-sidedly explained and implemented legal norms, or nonadherence to the socialist principle of wages policy, or simply the old and familiar adage "There are no people." All this has created a particularly favorable atmosphere for opportunists, who thrive on it. An executive consistently implementing the party's policy does not always find effective support in the party and trade union organizations; time and again he is branded by "public opinion" as an "antisocial person." THE EXECUTIVE'S MISSION IS TO WAGE A STRUGGLE FOR THE PEOPLE'S MINDS, TO REFUSE TO GIVE UP BECAUSE OF PERSONAL TROUBLES, TO ACQUIRE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND TO RELY ON HONORABLE PEOPLE. Such efforts need not necessarily be crowned by success every time, and in all places; but for the most part an executive who proceeds consistently wins the game, and acquires respect.

Since we encounter opportunism in practice, we may draw only one conclusion: opportunism has sneaked into our cadre policy, too. The biographies, questionnaires, personal files and so-called comprehensive evaluations do have a certain significance (although sometimes they smell of formalism) -- BUT WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE EVERY PERSON'S QUALITIES AND TALENTS, AND HIS DEVOTION TO SOCIALISM, IN HIS WORK AND IN ITS SPECIFIC RESULTS, IN HIS EVERYDAY STRUGGLE TO IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S POLICY.

There it is impossible to "cheat" or to cover up things by nice words or by the goodwill of collectives and individuals, who are often good friends of the person in question. Nothing can be said against punishments along party lines for moral lapses or the failure to fulfill the duties of a party member and so forth. But it is only sporadically that a punishment is meted out for what we call opportunism in practice. It is also inadmissible to issue good character evaluations to people whom we want to get rid off or to "kick upstairs" in punishment! A FIRM DAM AGAINST OPPORTUNISM MUST PRIMARILY LIE IN A PRINCIPLED ATTITUDE IN THE CADRE POLICY, IN THE SELECTION, EDUCATION AND PLACEMENT OF PEOPLE. This principled attitude must also be manifested in cadre exchanges and in recalling, releasing and replacing cadres if they fail to fulfill their duties for any reason whatsoever. Deplorably, cadre changes and withdrawals from this or that function are often regarded in our country as something extraordinary, as a "tragedy" or "sensation," and people tend to disassociate themselves from a person thus afflicted."

IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM IN PRACTICE WE HAVE NO BETTER OR MORE EFFECTIVE TOOL UNDER SOCIALISM THAN CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM.

Nevertheless criticism and self-criticism are not the strongest aspect of our party life -- at least not in places where they should be applied. And all at once a problem emerges: Criticism and self-criticism should supress opportunism; but it is opportunism which is preventing us from developing them. On the one hand we have a lack of personal, and sometimes even collective, courage; on the other side of the same coin we have the people's specific reaction to criticism. In many places the people's experience with criticism is not of the best — either nothing changes and everything gets "explained and justified," or the critic is made to feel on his own hide that, as we say, "one has to pay" for it. But for the most part criticism is not suppressed directly, despite the proverb which justly says: "You can always find a stick if you want to beat the dog." Thus many people, otherwise honorable, seek a way out of this dilemma in anonymous letters (which is naturally wrong), even in those instances when they are right, as is frequently proved. IN FACT, THE MISSION OF POLITICALLY MATURE EXECUTIVES IS EXACTLY TO SUPPORT CRITICISM BY WORD AND DEED, TO REGARD IT AS REAL HELP (EVEN IF THIS IS MOSTLY UNPLEASANT FOR THEM PERSONALLY. Naturally I do not mean by this a retreat before incorrect opinions or demagogy, or an antisocialist behavior under the motto "right to criticize." Self-criticism (whether on one's own initiative, or on impulse from somebody else) has not taken root in our country, either; the reason is that, even if it is meant honestly, it is often received as "one's own funeral oration." Whenever the Central Committee points out the existence of particular shortcomings, people in all sectors and on all management levels (and above all communists!) should concretize this for their own use. They should not copy out the resolution in its general form; they should throw light on matters where things are not going as they should, they should uncover the reason for this and, above all, they should act, resolve matters.... Instead it has become a habit to think "we are all right," it is the others to whom the criticism applies. Opportunism comes to life when we want others to be the first to do things, when we say: This does not apply to us, we deserve an exception, we still have to build this or that, we have to have manpower, we need more foreign currency for imports and so forth. This is an outright denigration of criticism, a blunting of its edge; it is grist to the will of people who talk about "socialism's inability to resolve the problems that are cropping up" -- brief, we have here the grossest and most dangerous expression of opportunism in practice. CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM ARE SHARP, BUT SENSITIVE TOOLS. ONE MUST KNOW HOW TO USE THEM TO HELP US TO REAR HONORABLE PEOPLE, TO PERFECT OUR LIFE, TO SERVE THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY. TO GIVE UP THIS TOOL MEANS TO DISARM THE PARTY, TO SUPPRESS THE PEOPLE'S INITIATIVE, TO PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR CREATIVE ACTIVITY.

The struggle against opportunism concerns the whole of society; but the demand for this struggle particularly applies to communists, it must permeate all their activities. A great responsibility rests on the basic organizations and their committees; they must enhance the efficiency of their work and its contents and methods and they must measure it by the specific results achieved; within the scope of their activities, they must not become resigned to the manifestations of inconsistency in implementing the congress program and Central Committee resolutions. We justly demand that party organizations, particularly those on higher management levels and in ministries and general managers' offices, wage a battle for the party's policy in the true sense of the word, and suppress all forms of routine, all barren "philosophizing" and defeatist moods; that all their workers prove their competence by being far more resourceful in resolving current problems, and that we show far more determination in settling accounts with the hydra of purposeless bureaucracy. In order to avoid creating a false impression let me add that the demand for livelier and more effective activity, for concretizing congress and Central Committee resolutions, applies to ALL bodies and organizations. ONLY CREATIVE WORK, ONLY THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OF THINKING AND ACTING IN THE TRUE SENSE OF THE WORD WILL CONTRIBUTE TOWARD OVERCOMING FORMALISM, THIS "OWN BROTHER" OF OPPORTUNISM.

Opportunism in practice cannot be eliminated by isolated or repeated drives. Life is too complicated, people can get rid of their ingrained habits only with difficulty; revolutionary awareness is a maturing process in which theory is enhanced by collective and personal experience.

Our familiarity with these problems prevents us from succumbing to the illusion that such misfeasances might be uprooted by a dash of the pen, or that a "radical change" might be quickly achieved. But this does not authorize us -- also in view of the urgency of current problems -- to justify procrastination or treading-water, or the postponement of the duty to remain intransigent toward opportunism, the inveterate enemy of socialism. THE BATTLE AGAINST IT MUST BE THE COMMUNISTS' EVERYDAY CONCERN BECAUSE IT CONSOLIDATES THE PARTY'S TIES WITH THE PEOPLE, ENHANCES THE PARTY'S AUTHORITY AND DEEPENS THE WORKING PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST AWARENESS -- IT IS, IN FACT, ONE OF THE MOST BASIC CONDITIONS OF EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENTING THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE IN OUR SOCIETY.

To see the existing shortcomings, to talk and write about them, to rouse people for a struggle to overcome them, all this is not identical with a "black view of things" or with succumbing to pessimism and hopelessness. We are not replacing justified criticism by generalizations; good things still prevail, and we could cite quite a few examples to prove this.

WE ARE DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT IN ITS RESOLUTIONS THE 16TH CONGRESS SHOWED US THE CORRECT PATH FOR THESE YEARS. But it is exactly our sense of responsibility toward the party and our people, toward the international communist and workers movement, which prompts us to step up our struggle against all that is hampering us. What the proverb says is not senseless: A spoonful of tar may spoil even a barrel of honey. We are not concealing the truth about our weaknesses, we are not closing our eyes to them, because this would really be opportunism. And we communists have always fought against opportunism.

NEW LEGISLATION AGAINST 'ANTI-SOCIAL CONDUCT'

AU141655 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 May 82 p 2

[CTK report: "Fines for Violations of Social Interests"]

[Text] Prague, 12 May (CTK) -- An amendment of the economic legal code that is being prepared and whose principles have already been approved by the CSSR Government introduces economic fines as one of new legal means of protecting society against uneconomical conduct of enterprises and supervisory agencies.

In contrast to property sanctions, which represent an all-inclusive compensation for damage caused by violations of contract commitments between socialist organizations, economic fines are a penalty against violations of all-social interests. They penalize forms of the enterprises' anti-social conduct that have not yet been the subject of any sanctions such as, for example, the deliberate exaggeration or undervaluation of requirements in the planning process, continuous deliveries of faulty products or imports of machinery and equipment whose utilization has not been ensured in advance.

Decisions on imposing economic fines will be made by special senates of the CSSR and the two republics' state arbitration agencies at the recommendation of control bodies, when their investigations reveal the enterprises' socially uncalled-for conduct. Depending on the gravity of the case, the arbitration agency may impose a fine ranging between Kcs10,000 and Kcs1 million.

AGRICULTURAL CONGRESS IN BERLIN ENDS 14 MAY

Honecker Attends

LD142006 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1626 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 14 May (ADN) -- The 12th GDR Farm Congress ended today after 2 days of discussion. Late this afternoon Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, addressed the congress. Earlier, the congress had accepted the commissions' reports and ratified them unanimously. They show that at 193 district farmers' conferences 2,212 delegates were elected, all of whom had attended the congress. The presence of 790 cooperative women farmers and women workers amounted to over 35 percent of the delegates. Nearly 1/4 of all delegates are members of the FDJ, the GDR youth organization.

Honecker Addresses Congress

LD142108 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1650 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 14 May (ADN) — The 12th congress is a living expression of the fact that agriculture and industry in the GDR are working together more closely than ever in order to shape a developed socialist society, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council said today in his concluding address to the delegates and guests of the congress. He expressed the firm conviction that this will continue to be the case in future. In the report by Agriculture Minister Kuhrig and in the following discussion, it had been correctly observed that the constant strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the class of the cooperative farms is decisive for the further consolidation of workers' and peasants' power.

The course of the 12th Farm Congress and its outstanding results were a shining example of the correctness of the SED agricultural policy in the creative application of the Leninist cooperative plan on German soil. The experiences of 30 years of GDR history and its flourishing in the community of the socialist countries, confirm the Leninist principle that the socialist reformation of agriculture is indispensable for the victory of socialist conditions of production."

The development of GDR agriculture is a constant element in the great revolutionary changes which have taken place during the past decades in the GDR, Honecker went on. What formerly was unthinkable for farmers is now a part of daily life. Life in villages has undergone fundamental changes. The essential differences between town and country are being systematically overcome.

The acceptance of socialist agriculture is of historical significance for the life of the farmers as well as for the entire republic. In the GDR the farmers' work is accorded high social value. In capitalism farmers are a plaything of the so-called "self-healing powers of the market." "Where capitalist exploitation has been abolished, as here, the farmer is a free man. The policy of our party has linked the interests of the farmers with social progress."

It is clear to all the world that with socialist restructuring in the country the only correct path is being followed in order to secure farmers an existence in peace, freedom and prosperity, to make it clear once and for all that people are better off when town and country work together fraternally on a socialist basis."

Going into the discussion at the congress, Honecker said that it confirmed that the cooperative farmers are looking for new solutions to achieve better results to feed the people with less material, and to contribute to the strengthening of the GDR.

In the name of the SED Central Committee he assured the delegates and all farmers of the full support of party and government. Honecker described it as a great task to completely replace grain imports and in addition to enlarge our own feed stocks. He spoke in some detail in this connection about agricultural production and cooperation, the use of modern science and technology, issues of work organization and working and living conditions in the villages.

"If today with 30 years of experience, we can say that workers and farmers work hand in hand in their state, then the frutiful cooperation in the parish city, district and bezirk parliaments right up to the people's chamber have played a great role in this," Honecker went on. "[With] their more than 44,600 deputies in the representative bodies the cooperative farmers take a direct part in the exercise of political power."

The continued implementation of the resolutions of the 10th party congress in domestic and foreign policy demands that one adapt oneself to new, often difficult conditions, the speaker continued. The changes which have taken place in the international situation play an important role in this. "The most aggressive circles of NATO, above all the United States, are building up a dangerously explosive situation by their policy of confrontation and arms build-up, sanctions and boycotts, and this threatens peace. Between this policy and the critical development in the capitalist world where mass unemployment, inflation and social cutbacks are part of daily existence, there is, as we all know, a close connection."

In the 65th year after the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution and in light of the immense upheavals which it caused in the world, it is becoming even more clear that socialism is the most powerful motivating force of human progress and the struggle for a secure peace. "The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community will not be surpassed by anyone in the fight for the implementation of the rights of the people to a peaceful life."

"For us there is nothing more important than peace. Therefore, we help constructively to bring about concrete measures for arms limitation and disarmament commensurate with the principle of equality and equal security. This is indispensable for the further progress of peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders and is in the interest of the peoples.

"Arms drives and confrontation, missile policy, illusory dreams of military superiority over Warsaw Treaty states and nuclear first-strike -- something certain Western circles are bent on -- lead, of course, to no good. Even prominent U.S. figures, including members of Congress, former Cabinet officials and high military officers who have a thorough knowledge of the matter, have recently in increasing numbers, begun to oppose such a course." As these politicians have noted, such a course could lead to a nuclear world war with unimaginable destruction. "It would be suicidal for those who, in their urge for world domination, do not exclude this extreme measure."

"The latest peace initiatives by the Soviet Union presented by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 17th Soviet Trade Unions Congress and in his Tashkent speech, and which we fully and totally support, offer real possibilities for positive results in the area of disarmament," Honecker noted. "In this same spirit we consider it an internationally important step that Comrade Brezhnev has declared his preparedness to meet U.S. President Ronald Reagan, for a summit this fall. The continuation of the East-West dialogue, especially in today's complicated international situation, we, too, consider urgently necessary and especially valuable. We are, as everybody knows, in favor of Europe not becoming a Hiroshima. We are against the arms madness and for the continuation of the process of detente. Our manifold foreign policy initiatives are aimed at substituting, through negotiations, cooperation for confrontation. This applies also to our relations with the FRG, which must serve above all the overriding interests of safeguarding peace in Europe."

The general secretary of the SED Central Committee continued: "In the quest for peace views differ. We are for peace and for cooperation by all states irrespective of their social order. We want the doors for a secure life in peace and freedom to be opened wide to our hope, the young generation."

In today's international situation the objective is to solve conflicts by political means. "We can only agree with you when you emphasized that your most important contribution towards peace is to further strengthen our socialist GDR."

The 10th SED Party Congress paid great tribute to the role of the cooperative farmers and underlined that it has a clear and secure future in the GDR, Honecker said in conclusion. This found its convincing expression also in the resolution of the congress and in the draft of the new agricultural producer cooperative law.

"No doubt life will pose a number of new questions, bringing along its tests. One thing is certain: In every situation our party can rely firmly on the cooperative farmers, and the cooperative farmers can always rely on our party. We are convinced that you are going to do everything in order to guarantee bread for the people and to strengthen our socialist GDR."

Farm Resolutions Adopted

LD141710 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 14 May 82

[Excerpt] Berlin, 14 May (ADN) -- The delegates to the 12th Farm Congress in Berlin unanimously adopted today the congress resolution. The draft of the new agricultural producer cooperative law was also unanimously adopted. Together with the proposed supplements, this document will be handed to the Council of Ministers to pass it on to the GDR People's Chamber for the final vote.

HONECKER PRESENTS AWARD TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR

LD161032 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0845 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 16 May (ADN) — Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today awarded the Karl Marx Order to Petr Abrasimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the GDR, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. On behalf of the party and state leadership Erich Honecker cordially congratulated the ambassador and praised his outstanding merits.

The congratulatory message of the SED Central Committee, the Council of State and the GDR Council of Ministers to Petr Abrasimov states: "During the years in the GDR many significant milestones of inviolable friendship and overall cooperation between our two countries were set."

Ambassador Petr Abrasimov expressed thanks for the congratulations and the honor of receiving the highest GDR award. He will continue to work with all his powers for the fraternal alliance of Marxist-Leninist parties, the peoples of the USSR and the GDR.

PROTOCOL WITH SOVIET REPUBLICS TO SUPPLY BUSES

LD142246 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] For the past few days deputy ministers of transport from eight Soviet republics have held talks in Budapest with leading officials from the Ministry of Industry, from the automative manufacturing enterprises and from the Moguert Foreign Trade enterprise. Apart from making a few criticial observations, they stated that Hungarian buses are well-liked, respected and regarded as reliable in the Soviet Union. The supply of spare parts has now been solved.

A protocol was signed this evening according to which next year we are to deliver 7,200 buses, a greater number than this year. We will deliver a greater number of articulated buses. They intend to increase their purchases of Ikarus buses in the future as well.

GASPAR, NEMETH MEET ROMANIAN TU DELEGATION

LD142250 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] The Romanian trade union delegation led by Cornel Onescu has ended its talks following a friendly visit to Hungary. The delegation held several talks with the National Council of Trade Unions delegation led by Secretary General Sandor Gaspar. The guests were received by Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. The Romanian delegation visited several agricultural and industrial plants as well as social and cultural institutions.

POLISH DELEGATIONS HOLD TALKS IN BUDAPEST

Socioprofessional Department

LD142136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] A delegation of the Socioprofessional Department of the PZPR Central Committee has been making a working visit to Budapest with Stanislaw Gabrielski, the head of the department. The delegation has held talks with Tibor Baranyai, director of the MSZMP Central Committee's Department of Party and Mass Organizations. Stanislaw Gabrielski and the members of the delegation were received by Sandor Gaspar, member of the Politburo of the MSZMP Central Committee and general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions.

Scientific Delegation

LD152020 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] A delegation from the Warsaw Academy has held talks in Budapest on the development of Hungarian-Polish scientific cooperation. The delegation, which is headed by Aleksander (Gieysztor), president of the Polish Academy of Sciences, were received by Deputy Premier Gyorgy Aczel.

POLISH TRAIN SERVICE WILL RESUME 23 MAY

LD131824 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Budapest, 14 May (MTI) -- The express service between Hungary and Poland will resume from May 23. Cracowia is bound for Budapest on May 23 and back for Krakow on the night from 23 to 24.

The Warsaw-Budapest Bathori Express is also to arrive in Budapest first on May 23. It will depart for Warsaw on the same day to arrive there on the next.

The arrivals and departures of the rest of trains running between the two countries will be according to schedule.

MSZMP DELEGATION HOLDS PARTY TALKS IN NORWAY

LD161752 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Budapest, 15 May, (MTI) -- A HSWP delegation, headed by Sandor Somogyi, member of the HSWP Central Committee and secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, paid a visit to Norway between May 10 and 15 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway (CPN). The delegation included Janos Kisfalvi, official of the Central Committee.

The delegation had talks with a CPN group, led by Chairman Hans I. Kleven. It met the representatives of the Bergen and Oslo party districts. The representatives of the two parties informed each other on the situation of their countries and the activity of their parties, and exchanged views on current issues of the international situation and the international communist and workers' movement. They expressed efforts that, on the bases of Marxism-Leninsm and proletarian internationalism, they would further strengthen the traditional and friendly relations of the HSWP and the CPN, which serve the interests of both countries and peoples as well. They thoroughly discussed current issues of the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament. They stated that the struggle against the imperialist efforts aimed at deploying other nuclear armament in Western Europe, the accumulation of nuclear arms in Europe, and for establishing a nuclear free zone in Scandinavia, should be increased. They expressed solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America fighting for freedom and national independence.

The delegation had talks with Einar Forde, vice-chairman of the Labour Party of Norway.

WATER MANAGEMENT TALKS WITH THE NETHERLANDS

LD141928 Budapest MTI in English 1758 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Budapest, 14 May (MTI) -- State Secretary Antal Kovacs, president of Hungary's National Water Authority, returned from The Hague where he had talks on May 11-14 with Pieter Cornelis de Man, general secretary of the Ministry of Transport, Water Control and Public Works of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, on ways of advancing cooperation in water management. After the talks they signed an aide-memoire on Hungarian-Dutch water management scientific-technical cooperation, which determines the most important tasks of the cooperation. Both countries have to face similar problems in flood protection, thus both parties consider cooperation in the development of river control and flood protection very important. They agreed on the exchange of water management information and technical scientific publications. The water management institutions and organizations of the countries are to establish direct relations in the future.

Antal Kovacs had talks with Hendrik Jan Zeevalking, Dutch minister of transport, water control and public works.

PORTUGUESE CP OFFICIALS END VISIT 16 MAY

LD161418 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Sergio Vilarigues, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee, and Manuel Gusmao, alternate member of the Central Committee, have left Budapest. They visited our country at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee.

JARUZELSKI TO VISIT BULGARIA IN 'COMING DAYS'

LD161718 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Bulgarian People's Republic, a party and state delegation led by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, will pay an official visit of friendship to Sofia in the coming days.

AUTHORITIES DETAIN 636, INTERN 43 ON 13 MAY

LD142002 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] The forces of order yesterday detained 636 people, including 569 accused of disturbing public order and 67 accused of organizing protest actions, and interned 43 people. In addition 50 drivers who used the horns and headlights of their vehicles between 1200 and 1215 lost their drivers licenses; 176 other drivers have had applications submitted to misdemeanor courts for punishment and are in danger of losing their licenses.

Management personnel have applied disciplinary measures, including immediate discharge from work, to those who were particularly active during efforts to organize protest actions in work places.

RADIO SOLIDARITY BROADCAST HEARD 16 MAY

PA170427 Paris AFP in English 0413 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 17 May (AFP) -- The fifth broadcast of Radio Solidarity was picked up in a residential neighborhood north of here for some 40 seconds Sunday night before being drowned out by the loud music that habitually features on all wavelengths not used by the state. The broadcast was not audible in downtown Warsaw.

During the 40 seconds, announcers spoke of numerous arrests after massive pro-Solidarity demonstrations throughout Poland at the beginning of this month.

They also announced the creation of a "provisional solidarity coordinating commission" consisting of four underground Solidarity leaders: Zbigniew Bujak of Warsaw, Bogdan Lis of Gdansk, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk of Wroclaw and Wladyslaw Hardek of Krakow. Formation of the commission had already been announced through pamphlets.

Radio Solidarity has said it will attempt broadcasts every Sunday at 1900 GMT.

GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES 13 MAY EVENTS

LD142016 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] We have just received a report from the Government Presidium session.

The first point on the agenda was consideration of a report on the development of the sociopolitical situation against a background of the attempts undertaken over the last dozen or so days to disturb the process of stabilization and public order in the country. It was stated that the intention of the inspirers and organizers was to again stir up tension and unrest, to set in motion a wave of strikes in production enterprises, and to provoke street riots with all the further consequences this entails. These forces were concerned by the recently visible signs of an improvement in the social climate, the creation of conditions of a quiet life, and by the positive facts and symptoms with regard to the national economy. These are processes which contradict their intentions.

Despite the regulations in force during martial law, and many obstacles, they have continued their illegal antistate activity and have distributed leaflets and seditious appeals. Their activity was given broad propaganda support by those political groups in the Western states which are still interested in sociopolitical and economic destabilization in Poland.

The efforts of the opponents of socialism concentrated on 13 May have, in effect, come to nothing. A detailed report on the situation on that day in the country was presented in an objective manner by the press, radio and television. The public, on the basis of their own observations, could see for themselves the insignificance of this campaign, the response and the slogans of incitement, and the minimal disturbances.

A decisive majority of the public, especially the working class, motivated by political reason and reacting calmly and in a dignified manner to the calls for demonstrations, showed great civic wisdom and maturity. Working people unambiguously supported calm and public order in the country and the nondisturbance of production. This is vivid proof of the growing conviction among the public that the only way to extricate the country from the socioeconomic crisis and to overcome many grave problems and difficulties of life is to work and to maintain order in the country.

The Government Presidium has expressed its genuine appreciation for the civic and patriotic stances of working people. They are conductive to the implementation of broad reforms in national economy and for the continuation of the renewal of the life of the public, and they are creating appropriate favorable sociopolitical conditions.

It was stated that it is necessary to consistently develop state administration and economic activities which serve the stabilization of life and work in the country. Despite the attempts at introducing disturbances by extreme groups hostile to public interests, the state authorities are determined to strengthen the platform of the national accord through concentrating all patriotic forces around joint aims and by creating conditions for the development of a social dialogue in the spirit of socialist democracy. At the same time, in the name of social calm, the state organs will consistently combat manifestations of illegal and destructive activities. In particular, all the necessary consequences will be applied to the instigators of the 13 May disturbances.

Fulfilling this duty toward the majority of the nation which desires calm, the authorities will be acting in accordance with the binding law and with the requirements of martial law. At the same time, cases of abuse, unjust decisions or simple incomptence in the activity of the state apparatus will be resolutely eliminated.

Evil is indivisible. It must be eradicated wherever it occurs. Thus everything which makes it difficult to lead the country from the crisis and which prevents Poles from calm work and life must and will be deliberately and systematically eliminated. The Government Presidium instructed the heads of the ministries, the entire state and economic administration, to undertake the appropriate decisions to this end and to vigorously implement them.

In the presence of the ministers of science, higher education and technology, education and upbringing, and leaders of other ministries supervising higher education, the Government Presidium assessed the situation in higher and other fields of education.

The Government Presidium next discussed a report on the situation on the domestic market. By comparison with 1981, distinct signs of an improvement in supplying the population with food items were ascertained. The Government Presidium indicated that it is essential to concentrate efforts on continuing to ensure an appropriate level of deliveries to the market of meat and meat products, as well as animal and vegetable fats, flour and cereal products. This is the most important task to which the actions of the state apparatus, the agricultural services, the agricultural food processing industry and trade must be subordinated.

The Government Presidium familiarized itself with a report by the minister of labor, wages and social matters on the activity of plant social commissions. The commissions were set up in the overwhelming majority of plants and they encompass at present almost 95 percent of the total number of persons employed in the socialized economy. The participation of workers, young people and women has been ensured in the work of the commissions. Among their members, a large group is represented by former activists of all trade unions. The Government Presidium recognized that the formation of plant social commissions has, to a great degree, helped efficiently settle employees' problems. The cardinal task of the social commissions at present is the preparation of summer camps for the children of employees, and to ensure the highest possible number of sponsored vacations for employees.

The Government Presidium next discussed the problems of work safety and hygiene. The Government Presidium instructed the ministries to undertake urgent action to improve work safety and hygiene at work places. Improved supervision over work conditions and observance of the labor law regulations was recommended, as was intensified control by the state labor inspectorate.

STATISTICAL OFFICE ISSUES APRIL PRODUCTION DATA

LD141820 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 14 May (PAP) -- Poland's economic situation in April was similar to that prevailing during the first three months of 1982, the main statistical office (GUS) said in its monthly report.

Three main trends can be distinguished in industry: growth in mining production, a somewhat smaller increase in small industry output, and a deep fall in manufacturing.

In agriculture, cattle and pig populations increased, but the state purchases of slaughter animals from farmers dropped.

The rate of spending by the population on goods and services was higher than the rate of income growth. The cost of living increased as a result of price hikes.

The sold production of socialized industry fell by 7.5 percent in comparison with April, 1981. This is a relative improvement on the first three months of 1982, when the decline amounted to 11 percent. Coal extraction in April reached 15.8 million tonnes (by 13.6 per cent more than a year ago), electrolytic copper production stood at 30,000 tonnes (by 8.9 percent more).

Employment in socialized industry stood at 4.5 million in April (5.7 p.c. below April, 1981, figure). The average monthly pay (including compensation for price hikes) was 11,332 zlotys, i.e. by 57.3 p.c. higher than last year. Employment in the four main economic areas (industry, construction, transportation and commerce) continued its downward trend and the number of vacancies increased to 232,000.

The cattle population was by 2.1 p.c. higher at the end of last March than a year earlier, while pig population recorded a growth of 5.5 p.c Over the same period, state purchases of slaughter animals reached 135,300 tonnes in April and were lower by 22.3 p.c. than last year, and 14.4 p.c. lower than in March, 1982.

The prices of food were by 128.7 p.c. higher in the first quarter of 1982 than a year ago. The same index for alcoholic drinks is 144.4 p.c., non-food consumer items -- 65.4 p.c., and services -- 46.7 p.c. It is estimated that real incomes in the families of employees of socialized economy dropped by 23 p.c. during the first quarter in comparison with the same period of 1981.

Exports grew by 0.8 p.c. in April over a year ago, while imports fell by 23.8 p.c. In trade with socialist countries exports grew by 16 p.c. and imports by 0.8 p.c., while in trade with capitalist countries exports fell by 12.9 p.c. and imports by 48.6 p.c.

During January-April, 1982, exports remained at their January-April, 1981, level, while imports declined by one fourth. Average import prices increased more than the export prices, which had a negative influence on economy.

MARTIAL LAW VIOLATORS BEING INVESTIGATED

LD141856 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] According to the press spokesman at the supreme military prosecutor's office, military prosecutors are continuing their activity directed against those who violate the legal regulations which are of paramount importance to the interests of the state. Among the investigations initiated in April are the cases of Waclaw (Kuchciar), Tadeusz (Wyza), Czeslaw Pazdzior, Jan Nowak, Wlodzimierz Kowalski and Stanislaw (Cyrdela), who are employees of the compression ignition engine factory in Andrychow. They are suspected of having continued activity in the Solidarity trade union following the introduction of martial law. They gathered, prepared, stored and published material containing false information.

Ryszard (Kil), Adam Kluska, Waldemar (Stocki), Marek Zawadzki, Janusz (Arkit), Miroslaw Burakowski and Miroslaw (Simonowicz) are also being investigated. They are suspected of having organized an illegal association under the name "the angels of death" [aniolowie smierci].

Adam (Klimek), Bogdan (Platek), Kristian Kaczmarek, Krzysztof Jesionek, Miroslaw Kasprzak and Michal Tycznski from the geodetic and mapmaking enterprise in Gdansk, and Andrzej Ogonowski from the Gdansk polytechnic, are being investigated for having published and distributed publications and other material calling on people to not observe the law. An investigation is also being conducted against Zbigniew (Szafran) from Szczecin. He is suspected of leading an illegal organization named the snipers team [druzyna strzelecka]. The aim of this orgnaization was to destroy a monument in Goleniow.

MEMORIAL IN MYSLOWICE ATTACKED, CURFEW IMPOSED

LD141354 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Unknown perpetrators tried to damage the local Soviet heroes' memorial in Myslowice, Katowice Voivodship. Following the unsuccessful attempt the attackers escaped from the scene. The Polish police have started a wide search for them. Because of the incident the Voivode council has once again imposed a night curfew.

NAVIGATION WARNINGS ISSUED FOR 17, 19, 21 MAY

LD152042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 15 May 82

[Excerpt] We are broadcasting a navigation warning:

The following sea areas are being closed to shipping and fishing vessels: sea area No 3 on 17 May from 1700-2359 and again on 19 May from 0700-0400 21 May; sea area No 1 on 21 May from 0800-1300; and sea area No 5 also on 21 May from 0800-1500.

COMMISSION EXAMINES REASONS, SOURCES OF CRISIS

AU131430 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 8 May 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Stanislaw Kuzinski, Jozef Soldaczuk, Ryszard Michalski and Barabara Durka: "Sources of Polish Crisis" -- capitalized passages published in boldface, POLITYKA footnote: This article is a summary of extensive materials prepared for the commission set up by the Ninth Party Congress to examine reasons for and sources of the crisis.]

[Text] AFTER DECEMBER 1970 THE PARTY LEADERSHIP EVALUATED THE SIXTIES AT THE EIGHT PLENUM AND THE SIXTH CONGRESS IN A SUPERFICIAL AND PRIMITIVE MANNER. THIS EVALUATION NEEDS TO BE REVISED.

DESCRIBING THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE ILLS OF OUR SOCIOECONOMIC ORGANISM, THAT EVALUATION DID NOT PROVIDE A MORE PROFOUND ANALYSIS OF THE REASONS FOR THE SERIOUS DEFORMATION OF SOCIALIST SOCIAL RELATIONS. IT FOCUSED ITS PRIMARY ATTENTION ON THE ERRORS OF THE PREVIOUS LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE VOLUNTARISM OF PRE-DECEMBER SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY, AND OCCASIONALLY IT BLAMED THE PERSONALITY OF WLADYSLAW GOMULKA AND THE QUALIFICATIONS OF HIS CLOSEST AIDES FOR THE CRISIS.

It is impossible to deny the enormous influence exerted by those factors, but the superficial nature of the evaluation affected the policy of the seventies and was responsible for the adoption of apodictic methods of government, which were a distinctive feature of the previous leadership, and for the conviction that the improved situation was a normal result of the replacement of the governing team.

Main Errors

Actually, the sources of the most important difficulties in the sixties should not be looked for in the economic policy of that time and in the individual measures taken by the economic authorities. THEY SHOULD BE LOOKED FOR PRIMARILY IN THE FUNCTIONING OF THE INSTITUTION OF POWER AND IN THE FAILURE TO OVERCOME IN GOOD TIME THE OBJECTIVE CONTRADICTIONS THAT INEVITABLY APPEAR IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT WHICH TAKES PLACE BETWEEN THE ACTUAL LEVEL OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION FORCES, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE OBSOLETE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, THE DELAYS IN PROMOTING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND ITS REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE WAY IN WHICH THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE AND INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY FUNCTION, ON THE OTHER. The traditional institutional-organizational system of the economy and state, which was not reformed in good time, and the centralized directive-command system of planning and running the economy continued to gradually lose efficiency as industrialization progressed.

The country's economic leadership did not appreciate the importance of the so-called micro-economic rationalization -- that is, the rationalization of performance of enterprises -- taking the view that under the conditions of the socialist economy based on the socialized ownership of production means and on national planning it is enough to follow the line of "macroeconomic rationalization." But in "macro" practice it was also impossible to apply an objective cost effectiveness analysis. The 12th Plenum in October 1958 and the Third Congress in March 1959 laid down the foundations of the economic policy of the sixties. The starting point of that policy were the results as well as contradictions and disproportions of the previous 10 years, especially of the 6-year plan period of 1950-55.

The October upheaval produced a crucial revision of the aims and principles of the economic policy for 1957-59. It was planned to level off the most important disproportions (especially those between the production of capital goods and consumer goods), to eliminate the major checks on increases in farm production at individual peasant farms (especially by halting compulsory collectivization) and to stimulate small production -- that is, labor cooperatives and individual handicrafts. Another task was to complete the most important investments and to halt other investments that were beyond the capacity of the economy -- that is, to create conditions for a more balanced economic growth in the future.

It was also noted that a poor development of the base of raw materials, energy, building, transportation and export production would be a crucial factor that might check with increasing efficiency the rate of the country's economic growth.

THE PARTY LEADERSHIP REALIZED AT THAT TIME -- AT LEAST PARTIALLY -- THAT IT WAS FACED WITH A CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPMENT AND OF THE STILL LARGE GAP BETWEEN POLAND AND THE RICH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, WHICH WERE INDUSTRIALLY AND TECHNICALLY DEVELOPED AHEAD OF US.

Such aims and tasks of economic policy in the sixties were implementable only under the condition that crucial changes were made in the organization of the national economy and in the methods of planning and management and that a new system of social incentives was developed. Unfortunately, the opportunities to do that were wasted. Such opportunities were created especially by:

-- THE GENERAL CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENCE OF ENTERPRISES WORKED OUT BY THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL IN 1957-58. THIS INDEPENDENCE WAS BASED ON AN OBJECTIVE COST EFFECTIVENESS ANALYSIS AND WAS INCLUDED IN THE REFORMED SYSTEM OF CENTRAL PLANNING.

-- The movement of workers councils, which were based on self-management bodies and relied on extensive powers in planning and management, the smothering and interdiction of which in the form of the workers self-management conferences (in 1959) amounted to paralyzing many creative forces of the workers class.

The waste of those opportunities -- regardless of the reasons which today we can call dogmatic reasons -- was all the more painful since at that time we were the first CEMA country in which the ideas were born for making extensive changes in the functioning of the economy. This means that we had real opportunities to prevent the divergencies, which continued to increase in the following years, between the new requirements of socioeconomic development (effectiveness, quality, profitability, modernity), on the one hand, and the rigid scheme of centralized and much too detailed planning.

Errors in Investments

Investment policy occupied the central place in Poland's economic development in the sixties as well as before the sixties and after them. This policy determined the dynamics and lines of development and sealed the fate of the future economic and industrial structure of the country. In the sixties we achieved a relatively high mean annual increase in the national income, namely 6 percent (30 percent in the 10 years in question). The inconsistency of that increase was its negative manifestation: for example, it amounted to 8.2 percent in 1961, 2 percent in 1962, 9 percent in 1968 and 2.9 percent in 1969.

[Text] Those continuous ups and downs were caused mainly by the recurring investment tensions related to the adopted lines of investments, the structure of investments and the ups and downs in farm production. Thiw was because preference continued to be given -- although not to such an extent as in 1950-55 -- to the investments that required large outlays and long periods for completion and that concerned the heavy and machines industries, which consumed large quantities of materials and produced mainly capital goods. This meant that the errors of the 6-year plan were repeated, although on a smaller scale, which created difficulties with supplies, with the balance of trade and with the domestic market and made it necessary to revise other investment projects. As a result, disproportions within and between sectors of the economy were created and, consequently, the rate of increases in industrial production and in the national income was subjected to fluctuations.

Investment policy did not appreciate the needs of the consumer, agricultural and food industries. The fluctuations in the rate of increases in the national income and industrial production were also related to the recurring payment difficulties. In that regard, too, investment policy was greatly to blame because it did not make sufficient allowances for the needs of export production. An excessively ambitious investment program, especially the trend toward rapid increases in the production of capital goods, created great demands for imported machines and installations and then for raw materials and semi-finished industrial goods. Industrial development absorbed a large part of the traditional export of fuels, raw materials and farm and food produce in order to meet the needs of the developing industry and the growing consumption needs of society. THE LACK OF ADEQUATELY LARGE EXPORTS OF NEW HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED AND COMPETITIVE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS CONTINUED TO CREATE TENSIONS IN THE BALANCE OF TRADE AND PAYMENTS, WHICH FORCES US TO CURB THE RATE OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OF THE LEVEL OF CONSUMPTION. It is true that the extremes of the autarkic development of the previous period were avoided in the sixties, but the development of exports lagged clearly behind the growing needs in imports.

The situation in 1962 can illustrate the aforementioned trends. The planned and implemented high increase in investments of 10 percent created a 12.5 percent increase in the needs for imports of investments and raw materials. At the same time, farm production slumped by 14.5 percent because of bad weather, and it was necessary to import food. Exports were unable to finance greatly increased imports.

The resulting loss of economic balance was restored in the following years mainly at the cost of consumption (food prices were raised), the supplies of materials and the extension of investment schedules.

A similar situation recurred on a smaller scale in 1969, which had a crucial bearing on the economic and sociopolitical situation in 1970.

The maximalization of investment outlays was characterized by the SHORTSIGHTED PREFERENCE FOR ENFORCING THE RATE OF INCREASES AT THE COST OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC BALANCE, WHICH CONSISTENTLY HELPED TO WEAKEN THE VERY ECONOMIC GROWTH.

Disproportions in Industry

The policy of industrial development in the sixties gave excessive priority to the development of the branches of the heavy industry and of other branches of production requiring large outlays and materials, which was one of the crucial reasons for disproportions and imbalance in the individual branches of industry and between them and for tensions in the domestic market and foreign trade.

However, this does not mean that important results were not achieved in industrial development, despite economic and social tensions. Among these achievements we must count the CRUCIAL EXPANSION OF OUR OWN BASE OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS, WHICH PROVED TO BE A JUDICIOUS DECISION, ESPECIALLY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE LATER ACUTE ENERGY CRISIS, on the other hand, what was wrong was the one-sided effort to extensively increase the production of coal and electric power while neglecting the investments and technologies that help conserve coal, energy and raw and other materials. THE FACT THAT THE CAPACITY OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND THE ENTIRE ECONOMY TO CONSUME LARGE QUANTITIES OF MATERIALS AND ENERGY CONTINUED TO INCREASE FROM YEAR TO YEAR BECAME A FACTOR THAT SERIOUSLY HINDERED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE FOLLOWING PERIODS AS WELL.

In 1961-70 the extraction of coal increased from 104 to 140 million tons and the production of electric power from 30 to 69 million kilowatt-hours. Large scale exploitation began of previously discovered deposits of copper, the production of which increased from 21,000 tons in 1960 to 72,000 tons in 1970. The production of sulfur was even more dynamic: from 26,000 tons in 1960 to 2.6 million tons in 1970, which made it possible -- together with the expansion of the nitrogen and sulfuric acid plants -- to increase the production of synthetic fertilizers from 480,000 to 1.63 million tons.

The disproportions between the potential of the base of raw and other materials, on the one hand, and the ultimate results in the shape of the production of useful articles for the market, export, agriculture, construction, transportation, communications and industry, on the other, were analyzed many times.

The growing gap between us and the developed capitalist countries in the spheres that determine technological progress of the entire economy was a negative manifestation in the structure of industrial production. These spheres included electronics; elements of automation; the production of chemical compounds, fibers and synthetic rubber; and the products of so-called small-scale chemistry. It is true that at that time it was stressed that -- in line with the world trends -- the rate of the development of the machine and chemical industries was higher than that of industry as a whole, but the internal structure of the production of these industries was disadvantageous. The share in it of the most modern products was inadequate.

A decidedly negative element of industrial policy was the neglect of the development of light industry and the failure to modernize its aging production machinery. The development of the agricultural and food industry was similarly neglected, despite the considerable national base.

However, a fundamental shortcoming of industrial development policy was the inability to work out export possibilities in manufacturing sections. The costly, slightly improved structure of our raw material and agricultural exports to the developed capitalist countries was still being maintained.

A "Swing" in Agriculture

Despite sharp criticism of the agricultural policy of the fifties, there was a failure to achieve the right progress in overcoming the structural and technical backwardness of Polish agriculture during the following decade.

Departure from the compulsory collectivization and restriction on the development of agricultural production on large farms made it possible to achieve quite a growth in agricultural production in the beginning, nevertheless in the long term this did not assure adequate conditions for a constant growth in agricultural production and an increase in its efficiency.

There was a lack of consistency in the state's policy toward agriculture, particularly toward the private sector. Frequent and sudden changes in this policy introduced many elements of uncertainty, which affected the extent and structure of production unfavorably. The policy of the state did not only fail to ease the natural cycle and fluctuation in agricultural production (particularly animal production), it actually aggravated it by means of the procurement prices and fodder supply policy.

This inconsistent policy toward private farming also had an unfavorable effect on the land economy, leading to a further breakdown in farms. The number of very small non-producing farms with an area of up to 2 hectares clearly rose. The idea of creating state farms prevailed, which under the economic system in force lowered the state farms' possibility of making effective use of their land.

The mechanization of agriculture, which had been initiated with the help of agricultural circles, turned out to be a largely unsuccessful undertaking. The agricultural circles employed people with low qualifications on the whole, who were easily susceptible to corruption. Most frequently they also had very high costs and misused their machines and agricultural equipment. This was the result of depriving them of their self-management.

The false propaganda of "social advancement," taken to mean the departure of young people from rural areas to the cities as well as the lowering of the prestige held by professional farmers in the face of the deteriorating living conditions in rural areas compared to life in the cities resulted in a negative selection of people remaining in agriculture.

Despite the shortcomings in investment and the mistakes made in agricultural policy, the dynamics of agricultural production did not become lower than the world average, but even higher to some extent. This growth permitted a certain improvement in what people were eating and a small but favorable foreign balance turnover in agricultural produce (460 million foreign currency zloties in 1970).

An important source of the difficulties, however, was the considerable fluctuation in final agricultural production; a growth or fall of 10 percent compared to the previous year, (during the disastrous year 1962 production sank by 13.5 percent). The strong fluctuations in pig stocks played a major role here. This was the main reason behind the decision to raise prices at the end of 1970, which was the direct cause of the December events.

One ought to notice that imports of grain and fodder during the entire decade rose by just about 1.7 million tons (from 2.15 million to 2.86 million tons) in step with the increase in exports of meat and meat products which covered the costs of these increased imports with money to spare. So this justifies my commenting on the SOMEWHAT AUTARCHICAL POLICY IN THIS AREA AND THE FAILURE TO MAKE THE MOST OF POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVING PIG STOCKS AND ESPECIALLY FOR LOWERING THE FLUCTUATIONS OCCURRING IN THEM, WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT SERIOUS LOSSES.

The fact that increases in farm production require high and fast-growing outlays, which are much higher than throughout the national economy, confirms the mistakes in agricultural policy. Although the increase in the social production costs of every additional food item is an objective phenomenon on every farm, it is nevertheless accompanied throughout the world by a much larger increase in agricultural work efficiency than in Poland, and a quicker transfer of workers' resources to activities outside agriculture.

The fact that agricultural production on small farms that procure fodder is less profitable than on the whole, and that pig breeding is not profitable at all, was an important factor behind the minute increase in country people's real profits. (an increase of 1 percent during 1965-1970), which weakened one's resolve to step up agricultural production.

The Freeze in Wages and Consumption

Real wages only went up by 19.5 percent during the decade 1961-70, while employment in the socialized economy rose by 39 percent. Employment figures increased by 250,000 to 550,000 during these years, which helped absorb the first wave of population increases and helped employ more women. The fact is that this employment growth did not have the right effect.

THE GROWTH IN REAL WAGES IN POLAND WAS CONSIDERABLY LOWER THAN IN OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND ALSO CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, AND NOT ENOUGH TO BE SOCIALLY FELT. That was the general picture, but many professions felt a stagnation and even a drop in real wages, especially during the final years of the decade. In addition, the differences in the patterns of change were coincidental and were not connected with the economic results of trade branches and enterprises. THE STATE APPEARED AS A DISTRIBUTOR OF WEALTH, AND THAT IS WHY IT EASILY BECAME AN OBJECT OF PRESSURE FROM WORKERS' GROUPS. The amount of pay increases depended on their strength.

Despite miniscule central control by increasing the wages fund, numerous cases of shocking earnings "chimneys" arose (especially in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk), which were the result of the confusion in scales of charges and working norms, overtime and so forth, deficiencies in production organization and supply, heaping tasks together at the end of the month or the quarter and easing the work rhythm at the beginning of the month and quarter, and so on. All this created deep dissatisfaction, a conviction that the authorities were incompetent and a threatening belief that this picture was all because of the socialist system.

The freeze in wages, consumption and in the entire sphere of social needs was the result of their being treated by economic policy not as an aim of economic activity, but only as a result of it. Matters concerning production, frequently technical details, were what the political leadership was mainly interested in. In fact, no concept of social policy was worked out for the new period, in which more varied needs, especially of the young generation, to have increasingly wider contacts with the outside world, the development of television and so on, made themselves more and more keenly felt.

Against this glaring background appeared not only an increase in the consumption of basic goods, which varied in degree and was sometimes excessive, but also outdated ranges of goods, a bleak market, a lack of hope of ever obtaining an apartment and furnishing it and no chances of obtaining a car and modern durable goods. THE GAP BETWEEN THE HOPES OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH THEIR HOPES WERE SATISFIED DID NOT ONLY CONCERN QUANTITY, BUT ALSO QUALITY, AND BECAME AN INCREASINGLY HEAVIER BURDEN ON THE ENTIRE SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE TIME.

The treatment of food as a neutral factor which not only does not stimulate the growth of the national economy but rather restricts it led directly to a drop in the production of industrial consumer goods. During the latter years of the decade, the production of the following durable consumer goods fell: washing machines, motorcycles, radio receivers, cameras, sewing machines, record players, and also knitwear and many chemical products. The cause of the fall was the aging variety of goods and also W. Gomulka's opposition to lowering prices. The result of this was also the maintaining of a faulty and socially ineffective consumer structure, with food occupying too large a part of the family budget.

In this way, the consumer structure required a particularly heavy outlay, which put the brakes on its possibilities for growing, possibilities inherent in the achievements the country had made in industrialization.

The development situation in Hungary was considerably more favorable for the domestic market there, even before the introduction of the economic reform in 1968. This shows that EVEN IN A TRADITIONAL AND CENTRALIZED PLAN IT IS POSSIBLE TO PURSUE A POLICY OF MORE BALANCED GROWTH WHICH IS GEARED TO BETTER MEETING THE CONSUMER DEMANDS OF THE COMMUNITY.

However, the most important thing, besides the general line adopted toward consumption, was a lack of the appropriate mechanisms to adjust production to meet changing demand.

Unsuccessful Attempts at Change

The need to make changes in economic policy was observed by the political leadership halfway through the decade and was more and more strongly stressed during the years that followed. This found expression in the Fourth Central Committee Plenum (in July 1965), which was devoted entirely to changes in the system of planning and administration. However, these changes did not lead to enterprises obtaining more rights, but most frequently increased interference by central bodies. At the fifth congress (November, 1968) and at the second Central Committee plenum (in April, 1969), support was expressed for further improving the economy's system of functioning. It was even said at the fifth congress: "The main task as far as improving planning and administrative methods is concerned is to create between 1969 and 1970 a homogeneous and internally compatible economic system."

Unfortunately, this task was not fulfilled, not even in a general sense. All the solutions offered, and there was quite a number of them, were markedly segmentary in nature, and they lacked cohesion and consistency. There was a characteristic discrepancy between the diagnosis of the state of the economy and the sharp criticism of the results of the extensive development on the one side and the steps which had been taken to change this state of affairs on the other side. SOCIALISM'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHICH WROUGHT SUCH HUGE TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY'S MATERIAL BASE AND IN THE WAY THE RESOURCES OF MILLIONS OF WORKERS ARE ACTIVATED, DID NOT GUARANTEE AN INCREASE IN ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY AND GOT LEFT BEHIND WHEN IT CAME TO SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS ON A WORLD SCALE.

Throughout the entire decade, the efficiency of investments fell alarmingly. The consolidation of the existing organizational structures of trades and the creation of powerful groups in industry and construction who were protected by the planning committee and the Government Presidium led to resources being dispersed. Attempts were made to remedy this by enforcing central programs of so-called selective development, in which trade branches were divided into growing branches with an average growth, and static branches. Pressure from economic organizations led to most branches being included in the growing category, while only 4 percent of branches found themselves in the latter category. The very idea of selective development deserves positive appraisal. The ineffectiveness of the tools for its implementation shows up the weakness of the model of central planning at that time in contrast with its apparent omnipotence.

The peculiarities in the way commands are given and distributed in running the national economy caused annual plans to be dominant in the central planning system. This made it difficult to achieve efficiency during that long period of time. What is more, the pressure of short-term tasks was one of the causes of the minute technological and organizational progress and the high material costs. GENERALLY IGNORING COSTS LED EVEN THEN TO THE EXPENDITURE ON ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS OCCUPYING A CHUNK OF THE NATIONAL INCOME TWO AND EVEN THREE TIMES GREATER THAN IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. Despite its obvious profitability and the need for it, we did not manage to concentrate resources in technology in order to achieve savings in the use of energy, fuels, metals, cement or timber, or in transport. On the contrary, decisions were made leading in the opposite direction, (for example housing factories).

The political leadership attached much importance to the system of material incentives applied since mid-1970. The incentives were based on the indexes of enterprise activity in the initial year, differentiated for individual units (the rate and amount of profit, reduced costs, labor productivity, production increase and so forth). An improvement in those indexes entitled them to a certain wage increase. The highly complicated way of reckoning the wage increases possible significantly blurred the proportion between labor productivity and wage increases. In practice, it was planned to freeze wages for 2 years, and the rate of increasing wages should not have deviated from the patterns of previous years (an annual average of 1.5-2 percent). The attempt to apply that system marked the culmination of the whole policy pursued in the sixties in order to improve planning.

Deficient Relations With the World

ALL THE STRUCTURAL DEFECTS IN THE CONCEPT OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE SYSTEM [SYSTEMOWE] SOURCES OF THE LOW ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY WERE REFLECTED IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

True enough, compared with the fifties, the country's leadership had changed its attitude toward economic connections with the world, but the results proved to be insufficient. The leadership began to regard foreign trade not only as a factor supplementing the country's resources, but also as a means of at least partial international specialization. Imports and exports outpaced the rates of increase in the national income and in industrial production. Exports were growing more than imports. At the end of the decade, that made it possible to achieve -- in turnovers with both CEMA and free market countries -- a surplus in the trade balance.

Highly important in that respect were the decisions of the fifth congress which noted the need for international specialization, particularly with CEMA countries. The initiative of accelerating and intensifying the process of economic integration among CEMA countries on the basis of economic accountancy should undoubtedly be credited to the Polish political and economic leadership. In connection with that, attention was called to the need to apply the real rates of foreign currency exchange, to improve the mechanism of price fixing in mutual turnovers among CEMA countries and to link those prices more closely with world prices. A hint was also made at the need to gradually switch over to the multilateral forms of mutual settlements and, in the longer run, to monetary convertibility.

However, in practice the sixties did not mark a turning point in using foreign trade as a factor to intensify economic growth and increase economic efficiency. The proportions and directions of economic growth continued to be determined irrespective of the broader possibilities for specialization.

Whenever the balance of payments proved to be strained, there was a quick return to the concept of promoting production aimed at curbing imports, and not at increasing exports.

In light of the experience of the following decade, that is, in light of casually and wrongly contracting debts, calling attention to the country's balanced international payments and resisting foreign debts might at that time have been regarded as a virtue. However, in reality the chances to develop a profitable trade and international specialization were not fully used. That in turn would have made it possible to avoid the unnecessary and excessive strains on the domestic market and would have facilitated the development of industrial production for increased exports.

The decade of the sixties left a sizable production and human potential, as well as many unsettled problems and weak spots. Through the great efforts of society, a material basis emerged which failed to satisfy many consumer and development needs. The accumulated reserves (including foreign currency) proved to be too small to ensure a smooth and harmonious development. The public was increasingly convinced that the economic progress made was insignificant or that there was even stagnation, and that the country did not keep pace with the rest of the world. Many phenomena and processes contributed to that state of affairs. The developments in the next decade were substantially determined by three of these.

Point one, the country pursued THE STRUCTURAL POLICY GIVING PRIORITY TO EXTRACTIVE AND HEAVY INDUSTRIES. In the sixties, the development rates in Polish extractive industries were among the world's highest. True enough, owing to that, our economy withstood the energy and raw material crisis after 1973 with relative ease. But large and costly raw material investments, combined with the priorities given to heavy industry, heavily encumbered the development possibilities of processing industries working for consumption, hindered housing construction, agriculture and other economic branches. As a direct result of that, the country's ECONOMIC STRUCTURE WAS (AND STILL IS) DISTORTED, ABSORBED MANY MATERIALS, MUCH ENERGY AND CAPITAL, and was characterized by technical backwardness in industry, underinvestment in agriculture, underdeveloped services, and so forth. The erroneous structural policy made it impossible to create an efficient export sector, and that proved fatal in the seventies.

Point two was THE FAILURE TO RADICALLY AND COMPREHENSIVELY REFORM THE SYSTEM OF CONTROL IN THE ECONOMY AND THE STATE despite the favorable sociopolitical and economic conditions. The traditional methods preserved in central planning resulted in its declining effectiveness and in the growing economic complications. The investment process was getting out of control. The arbitrary cadre policy generated voluntarism in decisionmaking and diluted responsibility. The centralized leadership in the economy and the state resulted in an inflated and bureaucratized administration and deprived the public of exerting influence on the development strategy pursued. The failure to reform the planning and management system is a sense accountable for the mistakes committed by the incompetent leadership in the next decade.

Point three, THE ROLE OF CONSUMPTION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS UNDERESTIMATED. SOCIAL POLICY IN A BROAD SENSE WAS AMONG THE MOST NEGLECTED SPHERES IN OUR SOCIOPOLITICAL LIFE. The insigificant improvement in the living standards was undoubtedly the main cause of the public discouragement toward the end of the decade [the sixties]. The stagnation trends in consumption, both individual and collective, significantly contributed to the outburst of social protest in December 1970. The same trends are also to be regarded as the sources of strong consumer pressures and aspirations in the next decade.

To sum up, one can see that the errors and distortions of the seventies were rooted in the defects and inconsistencies of the policy pursued in previous years. The foundations of the 1979-81 crisis are thus to be found not only in the last decade.

IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA

LD131850 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 13 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 13 May (PAP) -- Poland's trade and economic cooperation with Bulgaria has been playing an important role in easing its economic difficulties.

Bulgaria, reacting positively to Polish postulates, supplied Poland last December and January with additional quotas of agricultural produce, food and industrial consumer goods worth about 435 million zlotys (5.3 million dollars), delivered on credit to be repaid by Poland in 1984. Moreover, Bulgaria declared its readiness to supply Poland with mineral oils and certain raw materials and components worth about 374 million zlotys, to be paid for in 1986-87, and offered to complete by the end of June this year's quota of Bulgarian deliveries of food, medicine and other products.

Bulgaria has agreed to reimburse Polish producers for hard currency outlays involved in production of commodities ordered by Bulgarian customers. One such transaction covered 82 automatic lathes purchased by Bulgaria from a Wroclaw factory for which the manufacturer got 10 million rubles and 2.7 million Swiss francs. Incidentally, Poland is the biggest supplier of lathes for Bulgarian industry.

Between-session meetings of chairmen of the Polish-Bulgarian commission for economic cooperation, last January and the current meeting in Warsaw, are largely devoted to new forms of cooperation including utilization of ideal production capacity of the Polish industry and assignments for Polish builders on Bulgarian construction sites. A standing task group has been formed by the Bulgarian Government to help invigorate cooperation and a representative of the State Planning Committee accredited at the Bulgarian Embassy in Warsaw is examining possibilities for efficient utilization of idle Polish production potential.

Worth mentioning is the fact that despite a difficult economic situation, trade exchange between Poland and Bulgaria has been smooth this year. Last year's mutual turnover approached the valued of 35 billion zlotys, as laid down by the trade protocol. The value of trade for this year is set at about 37 billion zlotys, with most trade contracts having been concluded by now.

DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAY IDEOLOGICAL PURGE LIKELY

NC150706 Paris AFP in English 0658 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Paris, 15 May (AFP) -- Romania appears to be heading for a new ideological crackdown, according to Western diplomats there who cite several recent purges of government members and "probes" into the activities of some prominent Romanians.

The "purged" government members include Education Minister Aneta Spornic, who is also a member of the Communist Party Executive Committee, and Deputy Transport Minister Cornel Burada, whose dismissal was reported on April 29 by the radio and by the press on May 7.

Diplomats in Bucharest have noted with interest that the Romanian authorities, usually tightlipped about reasons for dismissals, have let slip information indicating that Mrs Spornic and Mr Burada were involved with a "transcendental meditation sect" of "foreign inspiration."

There are also unconfirmed reports that several other prominent people, including economists, priests, doctors and high-ranking politicians are under investigation in connection with the sect, which was reportedly founded in the United States and has a branch in Switzerland.

Diplomatic observers said the purges were perhaps a new form of President Nicolae Ceausescu's long-standing policy of rotating party and government cadres -- a policy which keeps the "nomenklatura" in a permanent state of uncertainty.

Other observers [words indistinct] the accusations levelled against Mrs Spornic of "lack of vigilance" in connection with the sect to the "ideological" plenum of the party Central Committee being held at the end of this month and to the "Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture" scheduled for June.

The last -- and only -- congress of this kind to have been held in Romania was in 1976 on the theme "The Creation of a New Man."

The stir caused about the sect could lead to more dismissals, observers said. It has fueled concern, already rife, among members of the intelligentsia over repeated attacks to which members have been recently submitted. Several leading intellectuals have been sacked from their jobs, including the deputy president of the Academy of Sciences, Milcu Stefan, and a campaign has been launched for the dissolution of the writers and artists unions.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CENSURES, DISMISSES OFFICIALS

AU151740 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, today chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee. During the meeting, the Political Executive Committee examined a report on the utilization of machines and equipment and installations in industry, construction and transportation in the first quarter of 1982. The Political Executive Committee noted that in comparison with last year's corresponding period the utilization index of machines, equipment and installations achieved in the first quarter of the current year has increased in a number of sectors, especially in the units of the Ministry of Metallurgy Industry on a regional basis since 24 counties recorded higher indexes than those in the overall national industry.

On the basis of records reported by enterprises, centrals and ministries, it was noted, however, that during the first quarter of the current year certain shortcomings have been obvious as concerns the judicious use of machines, equipment, installations and tools, a fact that led to the nonfulfillment in the overal national industry of the planned maximum utilization index.

The Political Executive Committee criticized the ministries for the fact that a number of basic machine-tools, technological installations, production capacities, construction equipment and transportation means are not yet used at full capacity. As a result, all responsible people in the economy were asked to take firm action to rapidly eliminate these states of affairs and to immediately recoup lags.

At the same time, the Political Executive Committee asked the ministries, industrial centrals and all economic units to take most determined measures to ensure the rational and complete utilization of all production capacities available at this time in our national economy, so as to increase the utilization index of machines and equipment and to redistribute equipment that is not being used and to judiciously make use of construction capacities.

Tangible tasks and measures were also established to timely and appropriately carry out current and capital repairs, to improve maintenance and the executon of planned repairs, to ensure spare parts and subassemblies necessary for the technology to reintroduce into the productive flow all equipment that is not being used.

The Political Executive Committee then examined and endorsed a report on the situation of labor protection for 1981. The labor protection activity, carried out last year, focused on implementing the measures under the program approved by the party leadership and adopted by the Second Congress of the Working People's Councils of June 1981. To prevent accidents and improve work conditions, funds amounting to 2,549,000,200 lei were allocated. That is 193,500,000 lei more than in the preceding year.

The labor protection problems were systematically discussed in plenary sessions and bureau meetings of the county party and trade union bodies, in management councils of ministries and in the Working People's Councils in enterprises. Measures have been taken to improve the activity of preventing accidents, the responsibility of management personnel and executives to strictly respect work technologies and labor protection norms and to strengthen order and discipline at all work places.

The Political Executive Committee believes that, although certain positive results have been achieved in the labor protection field in 1981, they are not yet up to the efforts the party and state have made and continue to make in order to constantly improve the technical level in all branches of activity and technological processes, to organize the production process and work as best as possible and to improve the training and specialization of working personnel.

An unjustified number of accidents is still recorded. They are especially due to the fact that production technologies and work procedures are not respected and due to lack of discipline, negligence and lack of responsibility by management personnel and executives in fulfilling the tasks at their work place.

The Political Executive Committee asked the government, the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Health, the Central Council of Trade Unions, all management bodies in ministries, industrial centrals and enterprises and the party, trade union and youth organizations to examine in all sectors, in all economic units the manner in which the provisions regarding labor protection are respected.

All those bodies were asked to assume the greatest responsibility for drawing up and applying the necessary organizational, technical and technological measures that will ensure the best working conditions as well as a climate of perfect order and discipline, will prevent and eliminate risks of damages and accidents, and will perseveringly allow for the appropriate training of working personnel and their constant professional improvement in keeping with the high technical level in our national economy.

At the same time, the Political Executive Committee discussed a report on the execution of certain constructions abroad.

Examining the activity in that field and the grave violation of the country's laws and of the party decisions in connection with how foreign currency funds are being spent and in connection with imports and the nonobservance of financial discipline at certain investment projects carried out abroad, the Political Executive Committee decided to relieve Comrade Alexandru Margaritescu as minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and Comrades Enache Sirbu and Adrian Rogojanu as deputy minister of agricultre and food industry, and to punish them within the party line by a vote of censure and reprimand.

The Political Executive Committee directed the government, the Central Council of Workers' Control of Socio-Economic Activity and the higher court of financial control to make a thorough economic-financial analysis of projects carried out abroad and to submit to the party leadership measures aimed at strengthening financial discipline and at improving activity in that field.

The Political Executive Committee drew the attention of the government, the higher court for financial control and economic ministries to take firm action to strengthen order and discipline in that sector, to exercise strict and constant control regarding the manner in which legal provisions are observed in cooperation ventures abroad and to ensure the capitalization with maximum efficiency of the material and financial means made available by our state.

The Political Executive Committee heard with deep satisfaction about the results of the state visit Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid to Greece at the invitation of Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of the Hellenic Republic. The Political Executive Committee stressed with satisfaction the prestige the head of the Romanian state enjoys among Greek public opinion and expressed its complete approval for the fruitful results of the talks and for the decisions made during the visit and emphasized the skeleton-agreement on the directions of developing economic, industrial, scientific-technical cooperation between Romania and Greece which gives to Romanian-Greek relations broad prospects in keeping with the interests of both our peoples and the cause of peace, detente, security and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world.

The Political Executive Committee stressed Romania's and Greece's determination to continue to develop cooperation in such fields as transportation, communication and telecommunications, railroads, the cement industry, oil drilling, the petrochemical and chemical industry, shipbuilding, machine-tools, energy and raw materials and to diversify trade exchanges on an equitable basis and finalize all economic and industrial cooperation ventures of common interest agreed upon during the summit talks and to encourage the creation of joint companies both at a bilateral level and in third markets.

It was also agreed to develop cooperation in the field of scientific research and technological development, as well as cultural relations that will contribute to a better mutual understanding and to deepening the traditional friendship between the two peoples.

The Political Executive Committee completely endorsed the conclusions that were reached regarding the current particularly complex and contradictory international situation and regarding Romania's and Greece's determination to cooperate more actively in the world arena to contribute greater to resolving the major problems confronting mankind.

The Political Executive Committee stressed the two countries' concern with the situation in Europe and their determination to contribute to successfully concluding the Madrid meeting that will lead to the convening of a conference devoted to trust and disarmament on the continent and to ensuring the continuity of the process of cooperation and security in this part of the world, to stopping the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and to withdrawing and destroying existing ones, to completely eliminating nuclear weapons on the continent and gradually reducing all weapons under effective international supervision.

Referring to the situation in the Balkans, the importance of the determination by the two countries was stressed to struggle to resolve the problems that still persist in this area by negotiations in order to develop cooperation and goodneighborliness and to turn the Balkans into an area of peaceful coexistence, without nuclear weapons. The opportuneness and particular significance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's proposals for convening a summit conference of the Balkan countries devoted to discussing practical ways and means for surmounting existing problems and of strengthening trust, cooperation and peace was also stressed.

The meeting stressed Romania's and Greece's agreement to act to stop the aggravation of international tension; to resume and continue the policy of detente and cooperation, respect in interstate relations, and the principles of international law; to resolve conflicts by peaceful means and negotiations by respecting the general interests of all sides and peace and security throughout the world; to stop the arms race, achieve disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament; to eliminate underdevelopment and reduce the great gaps between the industrialized and developing countries and to establish a new international economic order that will ensure economic progress for all nations.

Endorsing the agreements and conclusions that were reached, the Political Executive Committee worked out measures to fulfill the targets established and to expand relations of close friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then informed the meeting about the official visit the Governor General of Canada Edward Schreyer paid to our country 10-14 May.

The Political Executive Committee greatly appreciated the results of the talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Governor Edward Schreyer which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, understanding and mutual esteem, talks which are a major contribution to more intensively developing the positive relations between the two countries and peoples.

The Political Executive Committee stressed with satisfaction that the summit dialogue showed the determination by both sides to act to expand political contacts, to intensify economic relations and broaden and diversify trade relations and to expand and deepen cooperation, an important role devolving on cooperation in the field of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

It was assessed that the sustained promotion of Romanian-Canadian relations, on the basis of complete equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty and mutual advantage is in the interest and to the benefit of our peoples, of their progress and prosperity and of the cause of peace and cooperation among nations.

The meeting also stressed the importance of the exchange of views between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Governor Edward Schreyer regarding the development of the international situation. In this context the need was stressed that peoples should unite their efforts and cooperate closer and closer to stop the aggravation of international tension and to contribute to the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, cooperation and respect for national independence, to resolve conflicts and all differences between countries by political means, to stop the arms race, to achieve disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament and to establish a new international economic order.

The Political Executive Committee stressed with satisfaction that during the talks, the desire of the countries was stressed to actively cooperate in the international arena to resolve the major problems confronting mankind, to strengthen international peace and security and to achieve a climate of trust, detente and broad cooperation that will permit the Romanian and Canadian peoples and the other nations in the world to devote their efforts in the direction of ensuring socioeconomic development and the improvement of the material and cultural well-being.

The Political Executive Committee endorsed the agreements that were concluded during the Romanian-Canadian summit meeting and set forth measures that will give an impetus to the more forceful development of friendly cooperation between Romania and Canada and between the peoples of the two countries.

The Political Executive Committee also resolved current problems of the party-state activity.

[Bucharest AGERPRES in English at 1745 GMT also carries a report on the meeting, adding the following at the end: "The Executive Political Committee decided the convening of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in the first decade of June, 1982."]

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS MEETING ON AGRICULTURE

AU151954 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, chaired a 14-15 May meeting of the party Central Committee on industrial and agricultural problems. The meeting thoroughly analyzed the activity of these basic sectors of the national economy to better and more efficiently fulfill the state plan provisions for this year and for the 5-year plan. The meeting was attended by members and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee, secretaries of the party Central Committee, as well as first secretaries and secretaries in charge of economic and agricultural questions of the county party committees, ministers, leaders from certain central state bodies, directors from county agricultural directorates, chairmen of the county agricultural production cooperatives, representatives of certain mass and civic bodies, activists and specialists from various fields.

Being part and parcel of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's constant consultations with management cadres and working people from the most varied sectors of activity, the meeting stressed the essential and decisive role played by the party secretary general in drawing up and substantiating the tangible and efficient measures aimed at constantly developing and modernizing our economy under the complex and very difficult conditions created by the world economic crisis. It stressed his capability to thoroughly examine reality to identify the most appropriate solutions in order to ensure the commendable fulfillment of the program of the country's socioeconomic development.

In the spirit of recommendations made by the party secretary general, the meeting examined with exactingness the activity carried out in industry and agriculture and established appropriate measures to eliminate lags and other shortcomings in each field in order to more and more forcefully assert intensive factors in developing material production and in order to raise our socialist economy to the level of the great possibilities available in our country.

The meeting proceedings took place within two sections — industry and agriculture — and according to ministries. Within the discussions, the speakers made a thorough analysis — in the spirit of orientations established by the party Central Committee plenary session of November 1981 and February this year and on the basis of recommendations made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his speeches — of the manner in which the state plan has been fulfilled in the first 4 months and of the manner in which action is being taken to completely fulfill the provisions for May and for the first half of the current year.

In their speeches, the speakers stressed that the development of the national economy, at established rates and proportions, requires the greatest concern with expanding the base of raw materials to substantially fulfill and overfulfill the production plan of coal, nonferrous ores, oil and other energy resources. The meeting extensively discussed the manner in which each county is taking action to implement the decisions of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee regarding the reduction of raw and other material, fuel and energy consumption and to recoup and reintroduce reusable material into the economic flow and to generally increase productivity and labor efficiency.

Within the analysis, the speakers also referred to the measures taken to develop small-scale industry and diversify and expand the variety range of products achieved in this field. The meeting also stressed the need to give priority to improving product quality, primarily the quality of products to be exported. Examining the manner in which the investment plan is being fulfilled, the speakers referred to measures adopted to recoup lags in that sector and to thoroughly complete construction-assembly work and to commission the economic and sociocultural projects on schedule.

In their speeches, they stressed that the interests of the national economy requires the forceful intensification and the constant improvement of foreign trade activity, the complete achievement of production designed for exports, and new ways and means to cut back imports, a decisive condition for ensuring an active trade balance. Within the meeting, the participants also discussed problems of pressing topicality raised by the fulfillment of the agricultural production plan for the current year, as well as tasks devolving on workers in that field in the coming year in the light of the target of fulfilling the new agrarian revolution in our country.

Referring to the spring agricultural campaign, the speakers reported that this year the sowing of crops that have to be tended has been carried out mainly during the optimal time and under better qualitative conditions, thus ensuring solid preconditions for fulfilling planned productions. It was stressed that simultaneously with carrying out seasonal agricultural work, special attention was paid to the timely repair of tractors and agricultural machinery and other equipment so that all machines could be operated, thus creating conditions for harvesting cereals to be concluded within the time period established by the party leadership.

The problems of developing vegetable production occupied an important place with the discussions. It was stressed that at this time sustained efforts are being made to conclude planting the last plots of land to vegetables, thus ensuring all necessary conditions for a proper supply of fresh vegetables for the people for as long a period as possible in order to meet all requirements of the food industry.

Special attention within the meeting was paid to the manner in which the programs adopted on developing the animal breeding sector are being implemented. Proceeding from the fact that in each county animal breeding is a basic problem of the activity of agricultural units, the speakers stressed the measures that are being taken to raise the planned livestock and production and to ensure the fodder base by efficiently making use of pastures and hayfields and by implementing legal provisions on organizing production and rationally using fodder resources and implementing the programs on modernizing animal breeding farms.

Within the discussions, the participants dealt with questions on developing fish breeding, silk-worm growing and beekeeping, and stressed the measures on the basis of which the adopted programs on increasing production in those sectors will be implemented, sectors called upon to make a greater contribution to developing the national economy.

Within the meeting, the participants examined the manner in which the programs on self-supply of the people in towns and villages are being implemented. It was assessed that on the basis of measures taken, conditions are being created to properly supply the people with agricultural and food supplies and with other goods required by consumers.

At the end of the meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, took the floor. The speech by the party secretary general was followed with special interest by the participants in the meeting and interspersed repeatedly with lively and loud applause. All those present expressed their determination to act with great responsibility to fulfill the particularly important tasks in industry and agriculture in order to implement the guidelines of great importance formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu with a view toward the constant flourishing of our socialist fatherland and toward raising the material and cultural living standard of all our people.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES GDR VICE PREMIER WEISS

AU141607 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Dr Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of his country's side in the joint Romanian-GDR governmental commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation, whose proceedings took place in Bucharest. The meeting was attended by Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government and chairman of the Romanian side in the joint governmental commission. Gheorghe Tache, Romania's ambassador to Berlin, and Siegfried Bock, GDR Ambassador to Bucharest, were also present.

The guest extended to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu warm greetings from Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, as well as wishes for the Romanian people's prosperity and new successes in socialist construction. Thanking the guest, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu extended warm greetings to Comrade Erich Honecker as well as best wishes for the GDR people's progress and prosperity.

During the meeting, the sides pointed out the good relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and SED and between our countries and peoples and expressed the joint desire to continue to develop these ties, in accordance with agreements reached during meetings and talks between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker. They assessed that the ever growing potential of the national economies of Romania and the GDR offer conditions for broader cooperation between the two countries in the economic and scientific-technical fields, production sharing and trade exchanges. This cooperation is to the mutual benefit of the two countries and serves the general cause of socialism and peace in the world.

The sides emphasized the role devolving upon the joint governmental commission in deepening and diversifying cooperation between Romania and The GDR, particularly in identifying new opportunities for bilateral cooperation and in third markets.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship.

TURKISH HEAD OF STATE RECEIVES FOREIGN MINISTER.

AU151856 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Ankara, 15 May (AGERPRES) -- General Kenan Evren, head of state of the Republic of Turkey, received on May 15 in Ankara Stefan Andrei, Romanian foreign minister.

On the occasion, the Romanian foreign minister conveyed to the Turkish head of state a salute and best wishes from President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thanking warmly, the Turkish head of state addressed to the president of Socialist Romania a cordial message of friendship and sincerest wishes of happiness and success and evoked with great pleasure the impressions from his recent Romanian visit. The talks conducted and understandings reached on the occasion within the summit meetings. The Turkish head of state renewed the invitation for the Romanian president to pay an official visit of friendship to the Republic of Turkey.

During the interview, they discussed questions linked to the carrying through of the understandings reached during the summit meeting in connection with the general development of the Romanian-Turkish relations and especially in the economic domain.

At the same time, the foreign minister presented the positions and considerations of president Nicolae Ceausescu on some current questions of the international life. The interview proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality.

GUINEAN PRESIDENT RECEIVES RCP OFFICIAL

AU151855 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1811 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Conakry, 15 May (AGERPRES) — An exchange of messages between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, Romania's president and Ahmed Sekou Toure, secretary-general of the Parti Democratique de Guinee, president of the Popular and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea took place in Conakry.

From Nicolae Ceausescu heartfelt congratulations and a comradely salute were conveyed to Ahmed Sekou Toure on his re-election to the office of President of the Popular and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, as well as the best wishes of good health and personal happiness.

Thanking, the Guinean head of state asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed his feelings of esteem, as well as the best wishes of good health and personal happiness.

The exchange of messages took place when the President of the Popular and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea received Richard Winter, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister secretary of state, who represented Nicolae Ceausescu at the solemn session of the Supreme Constitutional Assembly of the Popular and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea for the installation of Ahmed Sekou Toure in the office of president of the republic.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the positive evolution of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian and Guinean peoples, outcome of the agreements and documents signed by the presidents of the two countries. The joint wish was expressed to deepen and expand the economic cooperation, bilateral commercial exchanges, to the benefit of both countries and peoples. Stress was likewise laid on the two countries' resolution to deepen their collaboration on an international plane.

CEAUSESCU TO VISIT SYRIA IN LATE MAY

AU151840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, 15 May (AGERPRES) — Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, will pay an official visit of friendship to the Syrian Arab Republic, at the invitation of Hafiz Al-Asad, secretary-general of the Arab Socialist B'ath Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, in the last decade of May.

OFFICIALS, DELEGATES ELECTED TO GOVERNING BODIES

Presidency Election

LD141802 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 14 May (TANJUG) — At its session today, chaired by SFRY Presidency President Sergej Kraigher, the SFRY Presidency elected and proclaimed Petar Stambolic as president and Dr Vladimir Bakaric as vice president of the SFRY Presidency. The election and proclamation of the president and vice president was carried out on the basis of the SFRY Constitution and in line with the sequence established by the standing order of the work of the SFRY Presidency. Their 1-year mandate begins 16 May.

Assembly Chamber Delegates, Officials

LD151840 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG) -- The first session of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces in the new mandate was opened by the oldest delegate of this chamber, Zivko Mucalov. He chaired the session of the chamber until the new president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces was elected.

At the start of the session, the Verification Commission determined the composition of all the republican and provincial delegations in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces. This assembly house will be composed of 88 delegates, 12 from each republic and 8 from each autonomous province.

The delegation of Bosnia-Hercogovina: Dr Ljubomir Bakic, Dr Ratimir Fuka, Kemel Halilovic, Ibrahim Ibrahimovic, Ana Jovanovic, Dr Semsudin Lejlic, Josip Lovrenovic, Salko Oruc, Djordje Petlic, Branko Sotra, Kemal Tarabar and Gojko Ubiparip.

The delegation from the Macedonian Assembly: Blagoja Gjorgjioski, Radmila Nancevski, Negre Novakovski, Pavle Tasevaski, Predrag Petrovski, Vasil Tudzarov, Dr Trajce Vejovski, Metodi Antov, Aleksandar Icevn, Asan Kreim, Hidzet Ramadani and Dr Dusan Veljkovic.

The delegation from the Slovene Assembly: Joze Globacnik, Nusa Kersevan, Ivo Klemencic, Franjo Krizmanic, Marjan Markovic, Miran Mejak, Joze Marolt, Miran Potrc, Lojze Skok, Boris Snuderl, Emil Tomazic and Mirko Zlender.

The delegation from the Serbian Assembly: Dusan Gligorijevic, Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic, Milovan Markovic, Dr Borislav Jovic, Krsto Avramovic, Mirko Popovic, Rodojub Stanic, Zivko Mucalov, Milibor Jovanovic, Vukosava Vuckovic and Juri Daus.

The delegation from Vojvodina Assembly: Petar Bucu, Mileva Dzakulin, Dusan Ilijevic, Mikola Kmezic, Milovoj Popadic, Djordje Radojev, Janos Sreder and Dusan Vlatkovic.

The delegation from Kosovo Assembly: Mustafa Pljakic, Jovan Vagicevic, Drita Dobrosi, Staja Zdravkovic, Ilija Djukic, Redzep Szamiti, Abaz Kazazi and Dr Prof Azem Hajdini.

The delegation from the Croatian Assembly: Mato Biskupec, Antun Bubic, Dzravko Ciric, Nada Filipovic, Nihovil Jurisa, Venceslav Kovacevic, Olga Milicevic-Arslanagic, Radovan Simic, Drago Susec, Berislav Sefer, Stipe Tojcic and Ivo Vrandecic.

The delegation from Montenegro Assembly: Jovan Vujadinovic, Zarko Dragovic, Demus Djokovic, Dragoljub Jakic, Milutin Jovicevic, Vjera Kovacevic, Dr Abdul Kurpejovic, Ljubomir Narkovic, Vojislav Srzentic, Milivoje Stijovic, Momcilo Cemovic and Milan Sanovic.

The newly elected delegates of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces then unanimously decided that the new president of the chamber should be Nikola Kmezic, delegate from Vojvodina. After the swearing in ceremony and the signing of the formal oath, Nikola Kmezic greeted all the delegates present and expressed the hope that the chamber will successfully continue the work of its predecessors.

He then chaired the first session of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the third mandate period. The chamber decided that the vice president of the chamber should be Drita Dobrisi, delegate from Kosovo, who was sworn in and signed the formal oath.

The chamber elected the chairmen of its bodies: Jovan Vujadinovic, chairman of the Committee for Social Planning and Development Policy; Dusan Ilijevic, of the Committee for the Markets and Prices; Antun Bubic, of the Committee for Finance; Slobodan Gligorijevic, of the Committee for the Credit and Monetary Policy; Asan Kerim, of the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; Ilija Djukic, of the Committee for the Underdeveloped Regions and Autonomous Provinces, Venceslav Kovacevic, of the Mandate and Immunity Commission; and Marjan Jarkovic, of the Legislative-Legal Commission.

Zoran Miskovic was elected secretary of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces. He was formerly secretary of the Legislative-Legal Commission of the chamber.

Assembly Elects New President

LD151618 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 15 May 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG) -- Raif Dizdarevic, a delegate from Bosnia-Hercegovina, was today elected to a 1-year term as president of the SFRY Assembly at a joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Before the joint session, which began at about 1300, the Assembly chambers elected officials who will be responsible for the work during the next year. The joint session was opened by Dr Anton Vratusa, president of the Federal Chamber. The session, which was of a formal nature, was attended also by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The session was also attended by the following: Cvijetin Mijatovic, Radovan Vlajkovic, Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, Marin Cetinic, Dragoslav Markovic, Veselin Djuranovic, and vice presidents and members of the Federal Executive Council, Jovo Nikinovic, Nikola Sekulic, Ratko Svilar, Bogic Bogicevic, Momcilo Milovanovic and Drago Dragojevic.

Continuing the session both chambers elected Mito Micajkov, a delegate from Macedonia, as vice president of the SFRY Assembly. Milan Jonovski was elected new general secretary of the Yugoslav Assembly with Ljubomir Bulatovic appointed as his deputy. It should be pointed out that this is the first time that the SFRY Assembly has elected only one vice president, but then his term of office is only 1 year.

The delegates then went on to elect Raif Dizdarevic, chairman of the SFRY Assembly Commission for Constitutional Matters; Sandor Dobo, chairman of the Administrative Commission; Ivanka Vrhovcak, chairman of the Commission for Information of the Yugoslav Assembly. Vinko Oroski will be the new chairman of the commission responsible for establishing the identity of the texts in the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia while Dragan Rodic will be the chairman of the Commission for Petitions and Proposals.

Tomorrow the delegates of both assembly chambers will elect the president, the vice president and the members of the Federal Executive Council.

Assembly Elects Commission Chairmen

LD151840 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT 15 May 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG) -- The delegates of the third mandate period of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber met today for the first time.

The session was opened by Milos Nikoloin, the oldest delegate of the assembly house, after which the session paid homage to the 39 miners who were killed in Zenica. The Verification Commission was elected and then charged with examining the report and other electoral papers of the commission for the election and recall of delegates to the Federal Chamber and with reporting on this to the chamber. The Verification Commission completed this work very quickly because -- as noted in its report to the chamber -- the elections were carried out lawfully and without any irregularities which would exert any influence on the final results. The commission had not received a single complaint about the election of delegates to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber.

The chamber unanimously adopted the report by the commission and in this way the verification of the mandates of all the delegates elected to this assembly house during April was completed. The presiding member Nikoloin congratulated all the delegates on their election and wished them successful work.

The delegates then elected the president and vice president of the chamber. Dr Anton Vratusa was elected president of the Federal Chamber with a 1-year mandage, and Mihailo Brajovic, vice president. The following were elected chairmen of the committees: Vanco Nikolovski, of the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations; Zvonko Spoljar, of the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations; Rajko Jecmenica, of the Committee for Internal Affairs; Branko Jovetic, of the Committee for Foreign Affairs; Redzo Terzic, of the Committee for National Defense; Luka Banovic, of the Committee for the Federal Budget; Miodrag Trifunovic, of the Committee for the Administration of Justice; Vulnet Starova, of the Committee for Labor, Health and Social Policy; Tone Turnher, of the Committee for the Problems of Veterans and Military Disabled.

Viktor Djulbabic was elected chairman of the Commission for the Immunity of the Mandate; and Surija Popovic, chairman of the Legislative-Legal Commission. Aleksandar Vujin was elected secretary of the Federal Chamber.

Appointments Commission Chairman Elected

LD161100 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG) -- The Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly have elected Dobrivoje Boskovic, a delegate in the Federal Chamber, as chairman of the Yugoslav Assembly Commission for Elections and Appointments.

Federal Executive Council Leaders

LD161022 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG) -- The Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly today elected Milka Planinc president of the Federal Executive Council. Zvone Dragan, Dr Borisav Srebric and Dr Mijat Sukovic were elected vice presidents.

Milka Planinc is the first woman to lead the Federal Executive Council. The proposal that Milka Planinc should be elected president of the Federal Executive Council was submitted by the SFRY Presidency.

Council Elects Secretary General

LD161654 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG) -- According to a statement by the Federal Information Secretariat the Federal Executive Council distributed its members' duties at its session today chaired by Milka Planinc. The council appointed presidents and members of its working bodies as well as presidents and members of the interrepublican committees in which the attitudes of the republics and provinces are coordinated. Petar Vajovic was elected secretary general of the Federal Executive Council, and Miroljub Lukovic, chief of Cabinet to the president of the Federal Executive Council.